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ABSTRACT

This is a collection of articles selected from the Journal of American Indian Education, volumes 1 through 13 (January 1961-June 1974). The anthology comprises 28 articles interspersed with art and poetry. The material falls into two sections, titled "Education" and "Culture and History." The first section includes 12 articles dealing with educational issues from a teaching or educational research point of view. The second section includes 16 articles whose central theme expresses the cultrual or historical implications for education of a particular situation. Articles in the first section include descriptions of Indian education programs in the American Southwest, and specific projects among the Navajo, Apache, Seminole, and Chippewa (Ojibwe) peoples. Articles in the second section focus on cultural materials for schools, tribal customs, attitudes, language education, and Alaska Natives. An appendix includes brief biographical notes on each author represented in the anthology. (TES)

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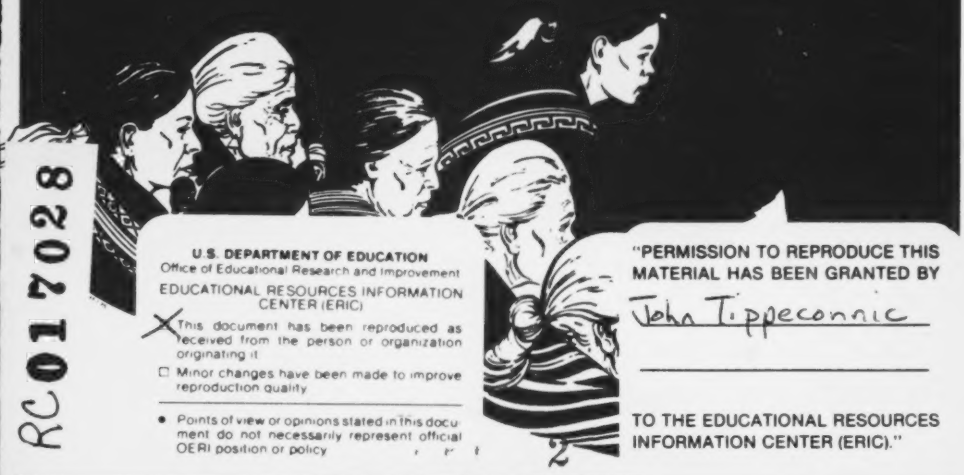
American Indian Education



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American Indian Education

American Indian Education

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Preface

Years ago it was very difficult for an American Indian to obtain an academic education. Then the Bureau of Indian Affairs, along with certain church groups, started building day schools on the reservations. These offered only elementary education.

Later on, boarding schools, which ultimately became vocational high schools, were opened in various locations. Academic training was offered for half a day and vocational training the other half day. At these schools the students were restricted from using their Indian language.

Higher education, for the most part, was unavailable to Indian students graduating from these vocational high schools. However, some made the sacrifices and extra effort to enter institutions of higher learning. Upon graduation they entered their various fields of endeavor and are now well known and highly respected.

Today, opportunities are available to American Indians which are a far cry from the past. Scholarship funds furnished by the federal government have opened doors for all those who are interested in accepting the challenge of a higher education in order to be better prepared to cope with the complicated world of today.

It is with pride that we commend the forerunners who took the challenge. Today we see more and more American Indian students going up the ladder to success in various professions.

Any attempt to assess the progress made in Indian education — whether in order to anticipate future trends, to project realistically the directions for future efforts, or just to know what has been in the past, — requires access to the data. The *Journal of American Indian Education* is unique in that it alone has attempted to collect and preserve the record of Education's effort among, and its impact upon American Indians.

The purpose of this book is to present, in a single volume, the most currently significant, meaningful and best researched of the hundreds of articles which appeared in the *Journal* since its inception in 1961. The articles were selected for excellence, practical utility and cultural soundness. It is hoped, therefore, that the book will prove an excellent source for students entering into Indian Education and a valuable reference for tribal leaders and others interested in Indian culture and education.

The Honorable Robert E. Lewis
Governor, Pueblo of Zuni
Zuni, New Mexico

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Acknowledgments

The editors wish to express their appreciation for the support, assistance and cooperation which made possible this anthology of American Indian Education.

The *Journal of American Indian Education* consists of Volumes 1 through 13, over a time span of 13 years from its inception in January 1961 to June 1974. The *Journal* was established through the creative efforts of Dr. Robert A. Roessel Jr. and Dr. Bruce S. Meador, who served as co-editors from 1961 to 1967. Mr. George A. Gill has been editor of the *Journal* from 1967 to 1974 and has continued with high standards of excellence and relevance for the education of American Indians.

The editors assumed the tremendous task of scrutinizing all the issues of the *Journal* to select the most appropriate articles to be included in this anthology. A number of Indian educators were recruited to critique the articles and make recommendations regarding the final selections. The criteria they used were theoretical soundness, historical and cultural validity, timeliness, practical usefulness, and readibility. Appreciation is expressed to these special readers whose opinions guided the final selections. They were Mr. Wayne Pratt, Mr. Eugene Sekaquaptewa, Mr. Alonzo J. Flores, Mr. Henry Gatewood and Mr. Francis McKinley.

Appreciation is also expressed to the authors whose articles were printed in the *Journal of American Indian Education*, Volumes 1-13, and were selected for publication in the anthology.

Others who contributed assistance and encouragment were Dean Delbert Weber, College of Education; Robert E. Lewis, Governor of Pueblo of Zuni; Mr. Larry Toschik, who served as art director for the *Journal* for several years; and Miss June P.Payne, editorial consultant, Bureau of Publications, Arizona State University.

R.M.D.
W.A.
G.A.G.
H.W.S.
P.G.G.

Introduction

Arizona State University has built a tradition of soliciting, developing and publishing research and information which is timely, useful and competently done. That tradition is extended and enhanced by this anthology, *American Indian Education*. In the perspective of the past 13 years, the volume emerges as a capstone in the structure of identification and explication of educational needs and delivery strategies as they apply to the American Indian.

Readers will discover that the material falls naturally into two categories, a natural division which the editors have exploited to develop the two sections, EDUCATION (Part I) and CULTURE AND HISTORY (Part II). This not to say that the two parts are topically exclusive. Rather, those articles which seemed to deal with educational issues from an educational research or teaching point of view were collected into Part I; and those whose central theme expressed the cultural or historical implications for education of a particular situation were gathered together in Part II.

The volume comprises 30 articles interspersed with some art and poetry. The source of the publication is the *Journal of American Indian Education*. The articles are from among those which appeared in Volumes I through 13 of the *Journal* during the thirteen years from its inception in January, 1961, to the present. Once the decision to publish an anthology had been reached, and funds allocated, the difficult task began to determine which of the several hundred fine articles would be included. Although tempted, by deadline pressures and the seemingly awesome complexity of a systematic, criterion-based selection system, to make short and rather arbitrary work of the selection process, the editors chose the more difficult avenue — with, it is hoped, gratifying consequences.

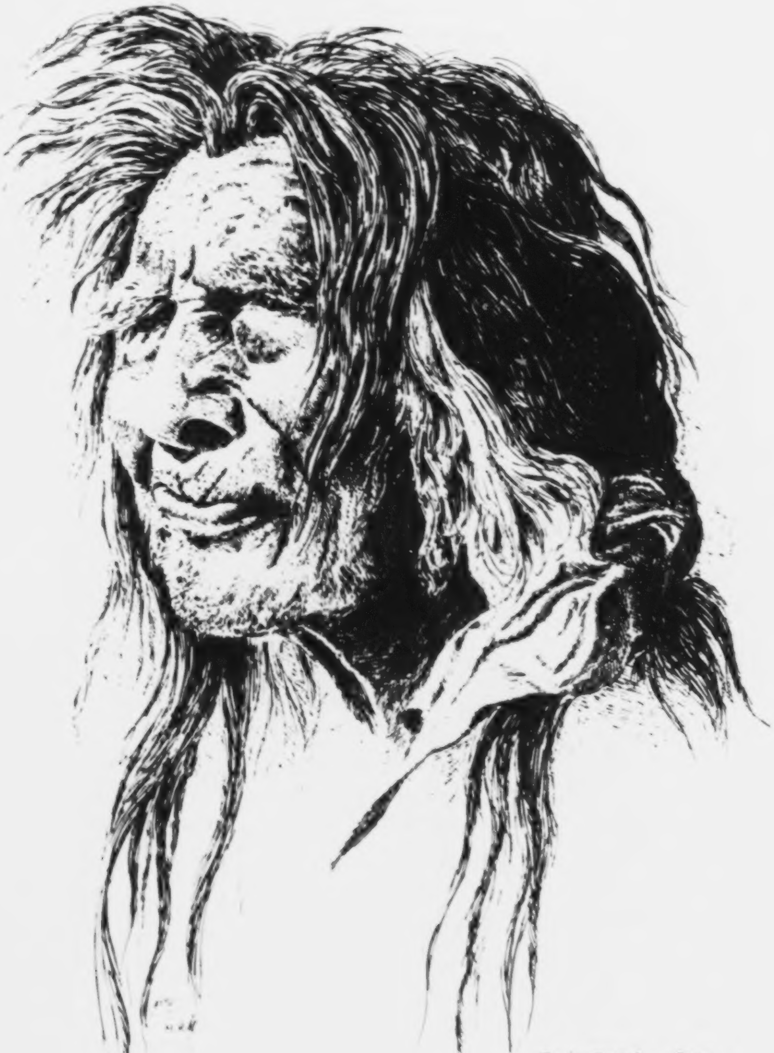
American Indian Education consists of 15 articles in Part I related directly to educational topics and practices. There is a total of 20 contributing authors, and topics ranging from "Self-Determination and Indian Education" to "Improved Reading Skills of Seminole Children."

Part II consists of 15 articles related to Indian culture and history with educational implications. There are 21 contributing authors and topics ranging from "Informal Power Structures within Indian Communities" to "Reservations and Tribal Customs" to "Cultural Materials in Schools' Programs for Indian Students."

This book is recommended to scholars as well as students concerned with or interested in Indian education, and also to those of the general public who are interested in learning more about American Indians.

P.G.G.

Part I
EDUCATION



Tosh Quinth - Pima
("Counter of the Days")

A Case Study

Self-Determination and Indian Education

David Adams
Vol. 13, No. 2

In 1744, when commissioners of the government of Virginia offered to educate six sons of the chiefs of the Six Nations, the chiefs replied:

> Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your science; but when they came back to us, they were bad runners; ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear either cold or hunger; knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counselors, they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them.[1]

As this exchange graphically demonstrates, the American Indian, from the very beginning, believed that the responsibility for the education of his young should remain in his own hands. However, at the mercy of a dominant culture, convinced of its own manifest destiny, the Indian was not to be allowed this privilege. He was, instead, to be forcibly instructed in the ways of an alien culture by the agents of that culture. It is only now, after two centuries of "Anglo" tutelege that one can see the dim outlines of a new period in the history of Indian education, a period where once again Indians shall determine for themselves the education of their children. It is the purpose of this article to explore both the philosophical basis for the self-determination movement and the attempts to operationalize it at Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona.

While it is not the purpose of this article to review the history of Indian education, the movement for self-determination cannot be wholly understood unless viewed in the historical context of federal Indian policy. It was as the 19th century came to a close that the federal government was forced once again to deal with the "Indian problem." As tribe after tribe went down to defeat before the Army, Washington sought the "final solution." While Indian removal, in the form of the reservation system, was an expedient course of action, it could only be regarded as a temporary one. A long-term policy was needed. In the long run, there were only three courses of action possible, outright extermination, self-determination, and assimilation. The first of these was not efficacious for the simple reason that it was not a "civilized" solution consistent with Christian ethics. Self-determination on the other hand would admit to the inherent worth of Indian cultures, an unacceptable admission for a society convinced of its own inherent superiority. Thus, forced assimilation was to be regarded as the final solution. Moreover, a primary tool in the assimilation process was to be education. The classroom would be the place where the Indian would shed his "savageness" and assume "civilized" ways.[2]

Four kinds of schools were instituted to serve the assimilation process: mission schools, public schools, reservation day schools, and the boarding schools (reservation and off-reservation). While the boarding school was admittedly the harshest of the four types of schools to educate the Indian, it is important to emphasize that all operated on common assumptions regarding their role and responsibility, assumptions which for the most part have survived until today. All viewed themselves as agents of a superior civilization to an inferior one. All viewed the tribal cultures with which they came in contact as being savage, and therefore, deserving of extinction. Most viewed all Indians as being the same, failing to see both the subtle and not so subtle differences in tribal traditions. Finally, all saw their role as being one of transforming the Indian into a white man with white values. Given these common assumptions, it is little wonder that the Indian did not cooperate.

> Forced to speak a foreign language (English) and punished when he didn't, compelled to study history books that down-graded Indian culture and often depicted his ancestors as bloody savages, the average Indian student, with full parental cooperation, declined to join America's melting pot.[3]

It is against this background that the movement for self-determination has emerged.

Definition of Self-Determination

The problem remains of defining self-determination. In precise terms what is it that its advocates demand? Once implemented, how would Indian education be different? In an attempt to answer these questions, it is possible to identify three principles that constitute the basis for the self-determination movement. The first principle involves the issue of curriculum.

Self-determinationists argue that the curriculum in the Indian schools should reflect traditional Indian cultural values. In the final analysis this first principle is concerned with instilling in the Indian child a sense of pride in his cultural heritage. As a young Eskimo woman told the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, ". . . *if my children are proud, if my children have identity, if my children know who they are and if they are proud to be who they are, they'll be able to encounter anything in life. I think this is what education means.*"[4]

A second principle of self-determination is that Indian schools should be responsive to the needs of the surrounding community; that where possible the community should take an active part in the school program. Indian parents must feel that the school is their school and not that of an alien culture unwilling to listen to their concerns. Finally, and this is a key point, advocates of self-determination argue that Indian schools should be run by Indians. While the ultimate goal is to penetrate the administrative levels of the schools with Indians, the immediate objective is to staff the schools with qualified Indian teachers.

> These Indian teachers will be able to create a school atmosphere in which Indian children will feel comfortable. They will be able to persuade more Indian children to stay in school and through education lead more of them to power. These Indian teachers will be able to stand up for the rights of Indian parents and achieve closer cooperation between school and community. They will know Indian history and culture and will be able not only to include it in the curriculum guides but to teach it with respect and purpose.[5]

The Role of Anglos

All this is not to say that "Anglos" will have no role to play in the self-determinist scheme of things. Indeed, there are many desirable reasons for the presence of a few Anglo teachers in an all-Indian school. But the great majority of teachers must be Indian and the focus of power must clearly be in Indian hands —otherwise to talk of self-determination is a sham.

The program described above involves an abrupt change from policies of the past. What is encouraging is the fact that there is reasonable hope among some Indian groups that there will be significant changes in the near future along the lines of the self-determinist doctrine. The basis for this hope lies in such schools as Rough Rock Demonstration School (Arizona), Ramah Navajo High School (New Mexico), and other schools that have broken with the past and the BIA tutelage that it brought. In both of these schools the concept of self-determination is becoming a working reality; both are in the process of becoming Indianized.

Because the Rough Rock school was the first to break away from the BIA structure, an examination of its program can lead to a clearer picture of what self-determination actually might look like. In 1966, this school became the first Indian-operated elementary school in the country. Robert Roessel, who became the school's first director, once defined the goal of the school as being twofold: first, the school was devoted to instilling in the Indian student a "sense of pride in being Indian," secondly, Rough Rock sought the difficult task of showing the students "that they can be Indian and American at the same time, that they can take the best of each way of life and combine them into something viable."[6]

The curriculum at Rough Rock reflects these objectives. A strong emphasis is placed on the teaching of Navajo cultural traditions. In a projected three-volume history of the Navajo people in the process of development at Rough Rock's Curriculum Center, the entire first volume has been devoted to the recounting of ancient beliefs relating the story of the Diné's origins which began in an earlier world when "man was not in his present shape and the creatures living . . . were thought of as Mist Beings."[7]

Examples of Self-Determination

An example of self-determination in action is found in a class on Native American Studies, taught by a young Navajo instructor, Louise Descheeny. In Miss Descheeny's class I have observed lessons taught by medicine men (in Navajo) in which the traditional ways have been explained by those who understand them best. Also in this class, students explore in some depth contemporary issues involving American Indians generally and Navajos specifically — such issues as the Hopi-Navajo border dispute and the Black Mesa controversy. In other classes, students are encouraged to discuss Navajo culture, listen to Navajo music, and sing Navajo songs. In a special arts and crafts program, students are instructed in the traditional Navajo arts of rug weaving, silverware, and basket-making.

Because most students enter school speaking little or no English, the teaching of English has always been a major concern to Indian educators. In 1887, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs responded to this challenge by instructing schools that "instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught."[8] This policy was so rigidly enforced that even today in many schools Indian students are severely punished for speaking in their native tongue. Typical of this attitude is the recent case of the high school teacher in New Mexico who was overheard telling his class: "One word of Navajo in my class is equivalent to cussing."[9]

All this has changed at Rough Rock. A bilingual instruction method is used where students are taught in Navajo for the first couple of years while simultaneously learning English as a second language. Once students have developed a facility to speak English, primary instruction changes to this medium. But even then the change is not total. In Miss Descheeny's class, for instance, students are encouraged to write their essays in Navajo as well as English. The reason for this is quite simple. Language and culture are inseparable entities. To the extent that one loses the former, he is well on his way to losing the latter — a tragedy that Rough Rock is devoted to preventing. (This also explains why Ramah High School has classified English as a foreign language.)[10]

The changes at Rough Rock are more than curricular. Writing of the school's first school board, one writer noted:

> The members of the new school board were enough to elevate the eyebrows of any educator: four sheep herders and a medicine man! Not a college degree among them. Not even a high school diploma. Only one, in fact, had ever been to a school — for three years. He spoke English; the others Navajo. One member signed his name with a thumbprint.[11]

The fact that Navajos rather than Anglos should be given the ultimate power of decision-making is in keeping with a basic tenet of the self-determinist movement — the idea that where ever possible the community should be involved in the school program. This tenet has been actualized at Rough Rock in more than political terms. Speaking before the Conference of North American Indian Young People, Dillon Platero, then director of the school, explained the school's science program.

> We ask the children to name five plants or five herbs used as food, five plants used as medicine. . . . The Navajo people know about plants. They know what they are used for. They know the season that they grow. When the children go home and are herding sheep, they collect these plants and they put the plants in a little sack or try to preserve them some way and then talk about them at home with the parents. Now the child brings back to Rough Rock samples of the plants he has gathered and he shares his knowledge with the class — knowledge he has learned from his parents — because his parents were involved in teaching him.[12]

It is little wonder that Navajos in the area refer to Rough Rock as "Diné bio'lta," or the people's school.

It is not the writer's claim that Rough Rock is an educational utopia, that it has in any sense solved all problems related to the question of Indian education. Indeed, there has been considerable controversy of late as to whether Rough Rock is in reality what its defenders claim it to be. Much of this controversy is the result of an OEO-sponsored evaluation of Rough Rock under the direction of Donald Erickson, an associate professor of education at the University of Chicago. Erickson was critical of Rough Rock's program on a number of points. He found that dormitory conditions were no better than in surrounding schools, that in addition to many of the Navajo parents complaining of having nothing to do, many "applied the disciplinary methods they themselves had experienced as children in the BIA schools." He was also highly critical of the school's progress in teaching English as a second language and claimed that other schools had been far more successful in this area. Finally, and most relevant to the subject of this article, Erickson claimed that there was very little involvement on the part of the Navajo Board of Education or community in the substantive educational decisions, that they had instead concerned themselves more with the non-academic aspects of the school such as the hiring of non-professional help. In conjunction with this last point, Erickson concluded that community control was more imagined than real.[13]

Erickson's evaluation has been both praised and damned by Indian educators. Most, however, would concur that while Rough Rock's program may need improving in certain areas, it still stands as a model of self-determination in action. Murray Wax, for instance, has argued that Erickson's observation that the all-Navajo Board enters rarely into decisions affecting the purely academic areas of the program in no way negates the claim that the school reflects the community's values and is in fact community controlled. Wax argues that the Board's reluctance to become involved in the day-to-day operations of the school is testimony to the fact of the community's faith that the school will serve the community interest.[14]

Can the Task Be Accomplished?

Given the success of Rough Rock and similar experiments in self-determination, it is reasonable to expect that new isolated examples of "Indianization" will be forthcoming in the future. And this brings us to the ultimate question — once given the power to control their own schools, will self-determinists be able to accomplish the delicate task they have set for themselves? Will they be able to give the Indian student a sense of identity by teaching traditional values while simultaneously preparing them to function effectively in the larger society? As a young Navajo has expressed it, "How do we change without destroying ourselves?" While self-determination does not answer this question, it allows Native Americans the freedom to wrestle with it.

References

[1] Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, "Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge," 91st Congress, First Session, 1969, p. 140.

[2] For general treatment of this period, see Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963); Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887* (New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1942); and Robert Winston Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1971).

[3] Roul Tunley, "Smooth Path at Rough Rock," *American Education*, VI, March, 1971, pp. 16-17.

[4] Special Subcommittee, p. 19.

[5] Theodore Kaltsounis, "The Need To Indianize Indian Schools," *Phi Delta Kappan*, LIII, January, 1972, p. 292.

[6] As quoted in Story Morehead, "To Keep the Things We Love," *American Education*, VI, August, 1970, p. 7.

[7] Ethelou Yazzie, ed., *Navajo History*, Vol. 1 (Many Farms: Navajo Community College Press, 1971), p. 9.

[8] This and other similar comments by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J.D.C. Atkins, can be found in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1887*, in *House Executive Document No. 1, part 5, vol. II, 50 Congress, 1 session, pp. 18-23.*

[9] NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, "Indian Participation in Public Schools," *Social Education*, May 1971, p. 456.

[10] Robert Norris, "Politics of Local Control: Ramah Navajo Community Forms a School," paper presented at Comparative and International Education Society, San Antonio, Texas, March 25-27, 1973, p. 5.

[11] Tunley, p. 15.

[12] Teaching and Research in Bi-cultural Education, *The Memramcook Conference of North American Indian Young People* (Memramcook, New Brunswick, July, 1969), p. 110.

[13] Donald Erickson, "Custer *Did* Die For Our Sins," *School Review*, LXXIX, November, 1970, pp. 76-79.

[14] Murray L. Wax, "Gophers or Gadflies: Indian School Boards," *School Review*, LXXIX, November, 1970, p. 67.

Apache Parents and Vocational Choice

Louis C. Bernardoni
Vol. 2, No. 2

Since the White-Mountain Apache population is growing rapidly and reservation resources are limited, it is becoming apparent that Apaches will need to make wise vocational choices if they are to become qualified to compete for jobs both on and off the reservation. During an average period of employment there are approximately 600 Apache men employed and approximately 650 unemployed on the White-Mountain Apache Reservation.[3]

Historically, the Apaches had a definite division of labor based upon sex. Most men worked at hunting and raiding and were carefully instructed in these pursuits during adolescence by adults of the community.[4] After conquest by the non-Indians, Apaches were initially restricted geographically and the old economic pursuits were necessarily abandoned. At the present time, wage work and raising of cattle constitute the two most important means of making a living.

While changes in Apache economy necessitate that Apaches make vocational choices, little information is available concerning the part that Apache parents play in the choice-making process. Most authorities in the field of guidance recognize that in our culture parents play an important part in the total process of vocational selection.[1] This project was designed to assess the role that Apache parents play in assisting their offspring to arrive at a vocational goal.

Procedure

The sample for this study consisted of the parents of all male Apache students attending the Whiteriver Public High School during the period from October, 1961 to February, 1962. The final sample included 46 families involving 51 students. Since some of the Apache boys did not live with their biological parents, the term "parents" in this report refers to the persons who have assumed the responsibility of providing food, shelter, clothing, money and parental guidance regardless of the consanguinity or legality of the relationship.

Structured interview guides patterned after that used by Donald Super[5] in his Career Pattern Study were the major instruments used. The guides were revised by adding items concerning Apache attitudes and behavior and were used in interviewing the students at school and the Apache parents at their homes. In addition to interview results, each family was rated on an acculturation scale by two Apache raters who were familiar with all of the families involved. Grade point averages for each student were also computed.

Results

Most Apache families are seldom visited by non-Apache people that they do not know. For this reason, many of them were initially hesitant to talk to the investigator. When they were informed of the purpose of the investigation, however, most of them were agreeable to a discussion concerning problems faced by their sons in arriving at a vocational choice. In isolating the persons to be designated as parents, it was soon discovered that the best criterion in discovering the person(s) who had assumed parental responsibility was to discover who provided the money for feeding and clothing the student and for spending money. Parents who did not support their children refused to give opinions concerning their child's education or vocation and referred the investigator to the person who did supply money. When pressed for opinions, they would state that it would not be proper for them to give opinions since someone else was responsible. If the student resided with his parents but was supported by someone else, the parents either contended that they could not voice opinions concerning the student's education and vocation or were non-committal.

The relationship of persons who had assumed parental responsibility is listed in Table I. Of the 51 Apache students included in the study, only 22 (43 per cent) have both parents assuming parental responsibility. It is surprising to note that older married sisters have assumed this responsibility in six instances. Since most of these sisters are only a few years older than the students, there is some question as to the amount of influence they can exert. The data would also indicate that the families included in the study adhere to the matrilocal, matriarchal system. While 12 of the students' mothers were not present due to death or other causes, only one of the students remained with his father and stepmother. All of the others were being cared for by women related to their real mother. The result of this practice is that some of the boys do not have an apparent male figure in the home with which to identify. In other homes where there is a male figure such as a stepfather, brother-in-law, or uncle, there is some doubt concerning the influence they would exert on the students since they declined in almost all cases to voice opinions concerning the students. Most of the male substitutes indicated that they were not in authoritative position concerning their wife's relatives. On the other hand, when both the real mother and father were present, the

TABLE I
Relationship of Persons Assuming Parental Responsibility

RELATIONSHIP OF PERSON ASSUMING PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
BOTH REAL PARENTS	22
REAL MOTHER (STEPFATHER PRESENT)	6
REAL FATHER (STEPMOTHER PRESENT)	1
OLDER MARRIED SISTER (BROTHER-IN-LAW PRESENT)	6
REAL MOTHER (NO STEPFATHER PRESENT)	8
OTHERS (MALES PRESENT IN SEVEN CASES AND ASSUMED PARENTAL AUTHORITY IN THREE CASES)	8
TOTAL	51

fathers readily offered opinions concerning their son's education and vocation.

The results of the process of isolating the persons designated as parents revealed that less than half of the Apache boys had real fathers who assumed parental authority and in less than half of the cases there was no male who indicated he had assumed parental authority. While it is difficult to determine the subtle influences that these male figures exerted, it would appear that over half of the Apache boys lacked a formal father figure while nine boys (18 per cent) had no father figure in the home.

In five instances, two of the Apache boys lived with the same family. Thus, while there were 51 Apache boys in the sample, only 46 families were included. The employment status of these families was investigated in the interviews and appear in Table II.

An analysis of Table II reveals that 22 of the 46 families (48 per cent) had no parent employed at the time of the interviews. While four of these families received a yearly income from cattle, this income was minimal in

TABLE II
Employment Status of the Families

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	NUMBER OF FAMILIES
PARENT(S) UNEMPLOYED	18
PARENT(S) UNEMPLOYED (SOME INCOME FROM CATTLE)	4
MOTHER OR MOTHER SUBSTITUTE EMPLOYED	5
FATHER OR FATHER SUBSTITUTE EMPLOYED	17
BOTH PARENTS EMPLOYED	2
(FATHERS EMPLOYED WITH SOME INCOME FROM CATTLE)	(6)
TOTAL	46

all but one instance. The rest of the families whose parents were unemployed received their income from a variety of sources including Old Age and Survivors Insurance, State Industrial Insurance, Veterans Disability Payments, Governmental Welfare, Tribal Welfare, and Unemployment Compensation. Since these sources of income are intended to provide a minimum standard of living, it is apparent that almost half of the families could be classified as having the minimal amount of income needed for living. What is probably more important as far as future vocational adjustment is that 48 per cent of the Apache boys live with families whose daily routine does not evolve around employed parents.

The families comprising the sample tended to be fairly large. There was an average of 3.45 persons in the families not including the parent(s) nor the students. With large families and the minimal income received by the families with no employed persons, money undoubtedly constitutes a problem. Those whose parents are employed are listed in Table III to indicate the occupational groups in which they are employed as classified by the Dictionary of Occupational Titles,[6] and are compared to occupational distribution of the general population of the United States obtained from the 1950 census.[7]

When compared with the general population of the United States as shown in Table III, Apache parents are employed less frequently in the professional and managerial, clerical and sales, agricultural, skilled and semi-skilled occupational groups and are employed more frequently than the general population in the service and unskilled occupational groups. Apache parents are thus employed more frequently in occupational groups which usually require less training and education.

TABLE III
Occupational Grouping of Employed Parents As Compared to the General Population

	APACHE PARENTS		GENERAL
OCCUPATIONAL	NUMBER EMPLOYED	PER CENT	POPULATION PER CENT
PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS	3	11.5	17.5
CLERICAL AND SALES OCCUPATIONS	2	7.7	19.3
SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	10	38.5	10.2
AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS	1	3.8	12.0
SKILLED OCCUPATIONS	2	7.7	13.8
SEMI-SKILLED OCCUPATIONS	3	11.5	19.8
UNSKILLED OCCUPATIONS	5	19.2	6.0
TOTAL	26	100.	99.

TABLE IV
Parental Preferences Concerning Location of Son's Employment

	Blood relationship of parents			
Location preference	Both real parents	One real parent	No real parent	Total
Prefer son remain on reservation	18	7	1	26
No preference	6	1	3	10
Prefer son leave reservation	5	4	6	15
Total	29	12	10	51

The educational level of the parents as obtained from parental interviews was 6.8 years, as compared to a median of 11.3 for the general population of Arizona.[8] Since the students were all high school students, their educational level was considerably higher than that of their parents. Seven of the parents had no formal education and only two had graduated from high school, one of whom had gone on to business college. The students' parents thus had less education than their sons and lacked formal experience in college.

The parents were asked in home interviews if they would prefer that their sons remain on the reservation for employment or leave. This decision was felt to be important since vocational choice would be limited for those who chose to remain. Parental preferences concerning the decision of remaining or leaving the reservation are shown in Table IV, categorized according to the blood relationship of the parent.

There is a tendency for real parents to prefer that their sons remain on the reservation while parent substitutes tend to prefer that the boys leave the reservation for employment. Since it was hypothesized that the acculturation of the parent might be related to parental decisions concerning whether their sons should leave the reservation for employment, an F test was computed for acculturation differences in these two groups of parents. However, an examination of the data revealed that all of the parents of the community of Cibecue preferred that their sons leave the reservation because they felt there were too few jobs available in that part of the reservation. Since the parents of Cibecue tended to rate low on the acculturation scale, an F test was computed excluding Cibecue parents and is presented in Table V.

An F value of 10.81 with 1 and 33 degrees of freedom is significant at the .01 level of confidence. Therefore, the null hypothesis is disproved indicating there is a significant difference in acculturation. Parents who prefer that their sons leave the reservation (Cibecue excluded) were rated as significantly more highly acculturated than those that prefer that their sons remain for employment.

TABLE V
Analysis of Variance in Acculturation and Parental Preferences Concerning Location of Son's Employment (Cibecue Excluded)

SOURCE OF VARIATION	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES
GROUPS	1	3,001.44	3,001.44
WITHIN	33	9,163.74	277.69
TOTAL	34	12,165.18	

$$F\ 1,33 = \frac{3{,}001.44}{277.69} = 10.81$$

Of the 51 Apache boys involved in this study, 42 had indicated some type of vocational preference and 19 had discussed aspects of these plans with their parents. It would be incorrect to describe these discussions as a situation in which the desires and aspirations of the student and his parents are bared and a plan is evolved which is based upon a solution of the differences. Only three of the parents indicated that they plan to exert active pressure in making their wishes known and eight of them indicated that they will subtly make their wishes known if the student affords them the opportunity. The remainder of the parents plan to let the student make up his mind. Conversely, the Apache students plan to discuss their vocational plans with their parents but look at it as a process whereby they make up their minds and then inform their parents of their decision.

The freshman Apache boys feel that their parents can be of assistance to them in evolving a vocational preference; 10 of the 21 freshmen state that they plan to discuss vocational plans with their parents. They plan to make up their own minds but feel that the parents can be of assistance. The other 11 freshmen plan to eventually make their own vocational plans and inform their parents of their decisions. As the Apaches progressed through the grades, it became obvious that the students did not plan to utilize parental information or guidance in vocational plans but would inform their parents after they had made up their minds. None of the seniors felt that their parents could contribute much in vocational planning.

As described earlier, Apaches do not have a tradition of free vocational selection in that vocations used to be determined by sex. This does not explain the lack of discussion entirely, however. Except for the three families who planned to make their wishes known, the Apache parents held the attitude that it would be impolite to pry into their son's vocational plans until he brought up the subject, and the boys did not usually plan to bring up the subject until necessary. Those parents who wished their sons to remain on the reservation tended to regard possible plans on the part of the students to leave as rejection. This feeling was evidenced by comments such as "I think he wants to leave us."

The Apache boys felt their parents are old-fashioned and would not understand their plans. The element of equating leaving the reservation with rejecting parents was also present in the boys and probably made the discussion of vocational plans difficult. To test this hypothesis, a meeting with three of the boys who planned to leave the reservation, but had not informed their parents, was arranged with their parents. All three of the boys refused to comment on their plans with their parents present although they were cooperative in all other respects. When pressed for comments the boys either would not comment or would say, "We haven't talked about that yet." It was apparent that in these instances there was real resistance to discussing the problem rather than just a laissez-faire lack of communication.

Since the three families that planned to exert pressure on their sons to discuss vocational plans were rated as being highly acculturated, the acculturation rating of the parents was compared to the amount of discussion concerning vocational plans. The students were divided into three groups—those who had had no discussions of vocational plans with parents, those who had had slight discussion concerning vocations, and those who had had substantial discussions of vocational plans. Table VI contains the comparison of these three groups.

Table VI indicates that parents who are better acculturated tend to more discussion with their sons concerning vocational plans than less acculturated parents. An F test was computed in Table VII to test the significance of acculturation differences among the three groups.

TABLE VI
A Comparison of Apache Parental Acculturation and Amount of Vocational Discussion

ACCULTURATION SCORE	NO VOCATIONAL DISCUSSION	SLIGHT VOCATIONAL DISCUSSION	SUBSTANTIAL VOCATIONAL DISCUSSION
70-75			1
60-69.5		1	4
50-59.5			1
40-49.5	6	1	2
30-39.5	6	1	2
20-29.5	7	4	
10-19.5	5	1	1
0- 9.5	8		
TOTAL	32	8	11
MEAN	23.28	29.06	48.45

TABLE VII
Analysis of Variance of Acculturation
Grouped Upon Discussion of Vocations

SOURCE OF VARIATION	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARE
GROUPS	2	4,880.84	2,400.12
WITHIN	48	11,424.82	238.02
TOTAL	50	16,305.66	

$$F\ 2.48 = \frac{2,440.12}{238.02} = 10.25$$

An F value of 10.25 with two and 48 degrees of freedom is significant at the .01 level of confidence necessitating a rejection of the null hypothesis. There is a significant difference in acculturation among parents who discuss vocations with their children and those who do not, with the more acculturated parents engaging in more vocational discussions.

Parents of the Apache boys were asked to evaluate the ability of their son to complete college, to ascertain whether parental evaluations corresponded to student evaluations. Only the parents of one boy indicated that they thought he could not do college work. Twenty-two of the parents indicated that they did not know whether their boy could do college work and 28 of the parents indicated that their boy could do college work. Almost all Apache parents either feel their boys can do college work or do not feel qualified to judge. Since none of the parents had attended college, they certainly lack first hand information to use as a basis for judgment. Although the parents receive report cards reporting their son's high school grades, only the parents of three of the boys mentioned high school grades as a criterion for judging college success. The grade point average of the Apache boys whose parents thought they were capable of college work was 2.48 while the grade point average of those whose parents had doubt about their son's ability to do college work was 2.68. The grade point average of Apache boys whose parents judged them as being able to do college work was thus lower than the boys whose parents had some doubts.

The evaluation of the parents concerning whether their sons could do college work was compared to the student's own evaluation to determine if they coincided. Of the 20 boys whose parents indicated that their son had the ability to complete college, eight (29 per cent) expressed doubt of their ability. Of the 23 boys whose parents expressed doubt concerning their ability to do college work, seven (30 per cent) expressed doubt about their ability to do college work. Thus, there is very little difference in student's self-valuation to do college work, between students whose parents think their sons can do college work and those who have doubts.

Apache parents' evaluation of their son's ability to complete college is not related to high school grades or their son's evaluation of their abilities. Apache parents are thus not very helpful in realistically assisting their sons in evaluating their ability if grades are an adequate reflection of Apache ability. Impressions gained from the interviews led the investigator to believe that Apache parents based their appraisals of their sons on home situations where Apache language and culture are prevalent rather than to base their appraisals upon school performances or a projection of how their sons would perform in a non-Apache situation.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study was undertaken to describe the role that Apache parents play in the vocational choice process of their sons. With the finding that only 19 of the 51 boys had even discussed the subject, it must be concluded that Apache parents play only a minimal role in this process. Familial factors that might mitigate against vocational discussions include a high number of substitute parents, a high level of unemployment or lesser skilled employment, and a low educational level. These factors, coupled with a history in which vocational choice was unnecessary, parents who are hesitant to initiate vocational discussion, and a tendency to construe leaving the reservation as parental rejection undoubtedly inhibit discussions concerning vocational choice.

The following recommendations seem appropriate to enable Apache parents to assist and support their sons in the selection of vocations:

1. The school should evolve systems of personal communication with parents so that they could become more knowledgeable concerning the educational and vocational problems faced by their sons.
2. Adult education and community development projects should be executed to promote more employment, greater family stability, a better understanding of education and work, and a knowledge of the functions that a family and community should perform to assist students in educational and vocational endeavors.

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Higher Education Programs for American Indians

Richard O. Clark
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Higher education has maintained a dynamic partnership with the American society since the founding of Harvard in 1636. One of the paradoxes of this relationship has been the general exclusion of the American Indian from both social and higher educational processes.

During the formative years of the country, American society and its system of higher education lacked the vision to conceive a workable rationale for Indian education. As the nation progressed and its history unfolded, the failure to effectively involve the Indian in the country's social and educational processes set a course for isolationism, exploitation and other gross abuses.

A major turning point in Indian education came in 1870 with congressional financial appropriation for Indian schools. In spite of the problems which these governmental schools posed, an educational base among the natives was nonetheless extended, especially at the elementary and secondary levels.

At the close of World War II, the influx of Indian veterans returning to the reservation stimulated a significant trend toward increased involvement at the college level. In the late 1960s, colleges and universities responded to the plight of the Indian in higher education by providing compensatory assistance to overcome the causes of failure to complete degree programs. Counseling, orientation, curricular modifications and other innovations were organized into viable and effective Indian programs.

In response to the success of these programs, the author conducted a study to determine their characteristics, and to evaluate them for effectiveness. Four southwestern institutions were selected for study according to the following criteria: 1. history and involvement in Indian education, 2. size of Indian student enrollment, 3. the offering of a bachelor's degree program. Institutions selected were Brigham Young University, Fort Lewis College, Northern Arizona University, and Arizona State University.

TABLE I
Characteristics of Higher Education Programs for American Indian Students

Indian Program Characteristics	Colleges and Universities BYU	FLC	NAU	ASU
Official Indian Program	YES	YES	NO	YES
Flexible Admission Policy	YES	YES	YES	NO
Total Indian Enrollment	507	224	300	93
Tribes and Blends Represented	70	47	30	26
Attrition Rate	14%	19%	12%	10-20%
Federal Matching Funds	NO	YES	YES	YES
Indian Orientation Program	YES	YES	YES	YES
Minor in Indian Studies	YES	NO	YES	YES
Masters in Indian Education	NO	NO	NO	YES
Special English Program	YES	YES	YES	YES
Special Reading and Study Courses	YES	NO	YES	NO
Teacher Preparation for Indian Schools	NO	YES	YES	YES
Indian Counseling Services	YES	YES	YES	YES
Tutoring Program	YES	YES	YES	YES
Campus Indian Club	YES	YES	YES	YES
Indian Student Center	YES	YES	NO	YES

Indian programs were developed at each of the institutions in the study according to distinct philosophies of Indian education, financial capacities to support Indian programs, and felt needs or research findings providing the necessary direction. Each program had a distinct, identifiable personality. Although the functions which constituted the various programs were quite similar, the implementation of such functions reflected the institutions' total approach to Indian education. The following is a brief summary of the most outstanding features of the four programs examined in the study. Table 1 presents the characteristics of the Indian programs as they presently operate.

Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

Indian education at BYU reflects an intense religious interest in Indian affairs, due to the large scale involvement of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with American Indians. Since 1965, Indian student enrollment at BYU has steadily increased to include the largest representation of Indian students at any senior institution in America. The Indian program focuses upon the development of the individual student to a level where he can successfully compete in all aspects of non-Indian society. Convinced that the academic and social backgrounds of most Indians substantially retard the normal achievement of this goal, the Indian program has been organized to provide compensatory assistance.

BYU's Indian program is organized as one of four departments in the General College. This organizational structure facilitates a close articulation between the resources of the General College and the needs of the Indian student. An Indian student center, located in the General College complex, provides Indian students with access to both academic assistance and social interaction. Flexible admission requirements for American Indians have contributed to an Indian enrollment of 507 students from 96 tribes and blends. The attrition rate among Indians approximates 14 per cent. Indian students are financially supported through a matching fund arrangement by the institution in cooperation with Bureau of Indian Affairs and tribal support. In 1971, BYU offered a five week pre-college orientation program for Indian students through the sponsorship of the Donner Foundation.

Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado

The history, geographical location and enrollment policy of this liberal arts college in the Southwest's famous Four Corners significantly explain its commitment to Indian education. A long tradition of Indian relations includes the contribution of Indian lands to the college for the development of campus facilities. The institution reciprocates to this gift by providing free tuition to all native Americans. Indian education is approached in accordance with an inter-cultural concept of preserving all cultures and developing the student in his own cultural context. The multi-cultural student body lends itself to the implementation of this philosophy.

Indian students enrolling at Fort Lewis College are assisted academically through a federally sponsored Title III Cooperative Arrangement Program. This program, which carries the title "Intercultural Program," provides compensatory courses, pre-college orientation, and student personnel services for participating students. In the college administrative plan, the program is part of the Southwest Studies Division which focuses upon the examination of the development of this section of the United States. Additional Indian related programs such as the Ford Program and Project Trail augment the activities of the Intercultural Program. All social and educational activities which relate to the Indian student, operate in conjunction with the campus Intercultural Center.

Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona

The location of this institution near both Hopi and Navajo reservations graphically depicts a natural American Indian setting. Both the institution and the local community reveal a broad orientation toward Indian affairs. The philosophy of Indian education NAU has adopted is based upon the concept that the Indian's problem is not radically different from that of other bi-cultural students. Such students have the responsibility to blend the contrast of social differences and succeed in college without formally established compensatory programs. Activities of the institution which relate to the American Indian receive direction from the inter-departmental Indian Education Committee.

Indian student applicants who fall below the minimum academic requirements are admitted as special or high risk students. This policy has promoted an Indian enrollment of 300 students from 30 tribes and blends, located primarily in the southwest. The attrition rate of Indian students is comparable to that of the non-Indian. Once enrolled, Indians are financially supported through both federal and tribal scholarship funds. A pre-school orientation program for Indians is conducted in conjunction with the regular orientation session the university sponsors for all incoming students.

The curriculum for Indian students at NAU includes a course in English as a second language and an Indian studies minor. A class in the Navajo language is also offered as the only known native American language class at the higher level in the United States. On-reservation extension courses comprise the additional offerings in Indian related disciplines.

Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona

This university has a long tradition of service to American Indian people. Although the institution is located in a large urban center, its educational program has received national attention in Indian affairs. The Indian program is based upon the philosophy that Indian tradition is void of a compelling force for formal educational achievement. Colleges and universities should therefore focus upon the development of effective teachers of Indian children to develop this force. Indian students in college should also receive compensatory assistance because of this void in their traditions.

The educational services for Indians attending ASU are correlated through the Center for Indian Education. This center is organized as a function of the Special Education Department in the College of Education. Curricular offerings for Indian students include English as a second language, an Indian studies minor, and a Master of Arts program in Indian education. Federally sponsored programs such as the Career Opportunity Program and the Upward Bound Program also contribute to the Indian-related curricula.

The recent success of these programs represents a remarkable achievement in American higher education. The traditional problems in Indian education which have been perpetuated since colonial times are beginning to find meaningful solutions through the bold innovations fostered by these institutions. Within two to four years after the inception of the four programs in this study, the attrition rate among American Indian students dropped to a level which was comparable or below the attrition rate of non-Indians. Each program developed independent of the others according to the configuration of educational factors present at the particular institution. Regardless of the contrasting characteristics of the various programs, the efforts expended in behalf of the Indian college student yielded outstanding results.

As higher education contemplates the future and projects plans for increased involvement among native Americans, the American Indian student can anticipate a high probability of personal success. The dynamic partnership which epitomized the interrelationship between higher education and the American society is developing in an impressive and similar manner with American Indian societies. The degree of impact this new educational trend will have upon the transformation of Indian communities will represent one of the great achievements of higher education in the United States.

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A New Concept on the Navajo

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The Navajo Demonstration School Project is an experiment and demonstration in the broad fields of Indian education and community development. A Navajo Tribal program, it operates on funds provided by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The demonstration school is on the Navajo Reservation at Lukachukai, Arizona, and is attempting to combine a variety of programs designed to better educate Navajo children. It is not anticipated that all of these programs will prove successful; it is not anticipated that every school enrolling Indians should adopt all of the successful programs. It is presumed, however, that through the process of putting into practice certain knowledge now available in Indian education, and through initiating other projects that are untried or uncertain, definite progress will result.

The advantages will be measurable, and Indian education at the federal, public school, and mission levels will benefit. There is no better way for Indian education to expedite solving its educational problems than to participate in an active, on-going research program. If change is to be achieved and Indian education improved, then this Navajo Demonstration Project offers great hope.

The project has identified specific areas of experimentation and demonstration. These include:

1. Teaching English as a second language.
2. School-community relations and parental involvement.
3. Reading and preparation of suitable reading materials.
4. Adult education.
5. Cultural identification and native language learning.
6. Teacher preparation and staff orientation.
7. Guidance and counseling.
8. Pre-school education.
9. Teacher-home visitations.
10. Dormitory living.

Following are descriptions of some of these experimental and demonstrative areas.

Sally, Dick, and Jane at Lukachukai

Evelyn Evvard and George C. Mitchell

If Sally, Dick and Jane, with their parents, were to come to Lukachukai, their urban, clean, aggressive, "fun-wherever-we-are" life would have evaporated before they passed Kennedy's trading post! The time, place, and people of their lives would have found no stage upon which to act out even one of their adventures.

An analysis of the stories in the Scott-Foresman Basic Readers was undertaken in order that those who teach Navajo children can be appraised of concepts in the stories which may conflict with the Navajo reader's concepts of himself and his family and community life.[1]

Our textbook reflects middle-class values so subtly that they may escape our attention. The first grade teacher who uses the Scott-Foresman Basic Readers needs to become intimately aware how his values translated into the stories of Dick, Jane and Sally can become pitfalls for the young Navajo child.

The urban child in the first grade reads about himself and his family. In the second grade he moves out into his community, reading about members of his community and their activities. It is not until the third grade that the urban child reads about children in other lands, and even then the stories he reads are not in cultural conflict with his own way of living.

This is not so with the Navajo child. In the stories he finds a world of paved streets, crossroads, traffic lights, policemen who direct traffic, of parks, zoos, kitchens, bedrooms, screen doors, and many other things unfamiliar to him. While learning the mechanics of reading, the young Navajo encounters a world of alien concepts. Since his experiences have not equipped him to evaluate and integrate these alien concepts, he must find it difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend fully the contents of the stories. However, these stories do provide the bridge between the cultures, and if the child can be given the opportunity to live the culture of Dick and Jane as he progresses in his reading, he is more likely to become a bicultural person. The sheer amount of middle-class values impinging upon him as he progresses through school make him bicultural, provided he has a perceptive teacher to assist him in dealing with some of the cultural biases he meets.

This article is concerned mainly with Anglo concepts encountered in the first readers and the ways in which these concepts differ from Navajo thinking.

There is a difference in concepts about animals. We invest in our pets and other animals human characteristics, but little or no supernatural characteristics or powers. The stories in the readers of the primary grades reflect our attitude toward animals. This attitude can make the stories hard for the Navajo child to understand. A teddy bear is so much a part of the middle-class that it seems to be an accepted member of every household collection of stuffed animals. The Navajo, on the other hand, shows great respect for bears. Bears are one of the figures of sand paintings; their claws are used in rattles. Bears possess the powers to speak out with the Navajo supernatural. Offerings are made to the bears (in the forms of corn pollen, sacred stones, turquoise, abalone shell, black jade) in certain places on the mountain or on bear tracks. The Navajo speaks to the bears: "Don't bother the animals or children." If, in the fall, a bear does take a sheep, another offering is made. It is bad luck to damage the image of the bear.

Navajo children have dogs, cats and lambs for pets. A dog or cat would not be expected to perform childlike activities as they do in the readers, such as taking the hat to mother at the child's command, or ringing doorbells. Sally's dog sleeps with her. Dogs are not allowed in the hogans; consequently many of the stories about animals in the house would seem unusual to the Navajo pupil. Another distinction between cultures is that Navajos do not buy dogs, nor dog food.

Middle-class, urban children are pictured as aggressive, vigorous, outgoing and friendly. The Navajo child is less outwardly expressive. Pictures of the facial expressions of Sally, Dick and Jane indicate how these children feel, as does their conversation. Sally says "Oh" to express disappointment or joy. The Navajo child is silent and impassive about his feelings; hence, middle-class, urban expression of feeling may seem both foreign and uncouth to him. He would not know how to "read" the facial expressions of the children in the illustrations as the urban child is expected to do.

Urban children play different games: they dress up in mother's clothes; they swim; they play with umbrellas; they convert large boxes into play houses. They use their father's carpenter tools; they paint at easels; they play organized games like blindman's buff. They play train, aware of the personnel needed to run a train. These activities reflect such aspects as mastery over nature, level of aspiration through work, change as a model of behavior, and the individuality of each child. Stories reflect the scientific attitudes of explaining events in terms of natural law. All these activities and attitudes must seem an anathema to a child whose culture inculcates in him the belief that he must live in harmony with nature, follow the ways of his parents, relate to the ceremonials he witnesses, and submerge himself into group activities and mores.

Urban, middle-class parents are pictured as participating in much of the play of their children. They play blindman's buff, they ride in their child's wagon. The urban, middle-class adult, as depicted in the readers, is a part of the child's world. In contrast, the Navajo child is a part of the adult activities, work and ceremonials. He lives as an adjunct to the adult world.

Urban children are pictured as possessing a large variety of toys and other paraphernalia with which to play. They are all in good repair, or if they are broken, the reader is left with the feeling that it is unusual to have a broken toy. The Navajo child has few, if any, toys, and these would have been selected by the parents. The parents do not stress the value of toys. Rather, value is invested in their religion, sheep, hogans, horses and other animals, and sharing is an important aspect of their lives. The stories convey the concept that the urban child and parent value the toys and in turn are masters of their material environment. On the other hand, the Navajo child is learning to live in harmony with his environment, broken toys and all.

There is another aspect about Sally, Dick and Jane's possession of toys that creates difficulties for the Navajo child. He sees pictures of the toys and other possessions of the story children. He would like to have toys and "good things." While comparing his lack of possessions with the possessions of Sally, Dick and Jane, he becomes ashamed of his own disadvantages. As a result, he does not want his teacher to visit his hogan and discover how he lives.

A hogan is so very different from an urban house that many projects in school could be developed in exploring the differences of how a family relates to a house or a hogan. Ordinarily, neither parents nor children play in a hogan. It is too small for such activity. If the weather is bad, the children can only wait until they can go outside to play, or they must play unobtrusively. This is probably one factor among many that teaches the child to be patient, accept and live with nature's vagaries. On the other hand, in an urban home inclement weather gives rise to another set of activities. Once again their activities illustrate the children's mastery over nature.

Hogans have dirt floors that are only swept clean. Mopping floors with water obviously is not done. Hence, it would not make any difference if the child or adult came into the hogan with dirt or mud on his feet. For the Navajo child, reading about Dick walking on his hands to avoid walking on a wet, newly mopped floor would seem pretty silly, unless he thoroughly understood the urban abhorance of dirt. Urban children are early indoctrinated with the germ-theory and can understand the use of screen doors to keep out germ-ridden flies. The germ-theory is in conflict with the harmony-with-nature theory of the Navajos.

Some of the beliefs and values encountered in the Scott-Foresman Basic Readers which conflict with the Navajo beliefs and values are shown in the following list:

Middle-class, Urban	**Navajo**
Pets have human-like personalities.	Pets are distinct from human personality.
Life is pictured as child-centered.	Life is adult-centered.
Adults participate in children's activities.	Children participate in adult activities.
Germ-theory is implicitly expressed.	Good health results from harmony with nature.
Children and parents are masters of their environment.	Children accept their enviroment and live with it.
Children are energetic, outgoing, obviously happy.	Children are passive and unexpressive.
Many toys and much clothing is an accepted value.	Children can only hope for much clothing and toys.
Life is easy, safe, and bland.	Life is hard and dangerous.

Analyzing the stories of the activities of middle-class, urban children has brought to light more than just the differences in cultural values with which the Navajo child must cope as he reads the stories. We face the fact that whether or not we discuss with him these differences, what we really are doing is indoctrinating him with middle-class, urban culture. Even though we, the teachers, want to present the materials of the curriculum so that the Navajo child has the opportunity to make a choice between cultures, or to take the best from the two cultures, it seems that, in the last analysis, we deceive ourselves.

From the moment we introduce him to middle-class, urban culture, through pictures, through the words we select in teaching him to speak English—through teaching him English in the first place—the whole curriculum moves inexorably toward teaching him to think and act in terms of the culture represented in the books. Only while the child lives at home, with his extended family, witnessing and participating with his family in daily living and in ceremonials, is the child taught the Navajo way. In essence, each day at school depicts for him the end product of his middle-class, urban education: the middle-class, urban way. No matter how the cultures are differentiated, the climax of every story, of every lesson in health, of every lesson in social studies, arithmetic, spelling—the climax, the final achievement, is the middle-class, urban way. From this viewpoint, if we were to teach so that the educated child could make a true choice, the whole curriculum would have to present two climaxes—the middle-class urban, and the Navajo.

* * *

Results of the Bender Gestalt Visual Motor Test Given in a Beginners' Class and First and Second Grades

Evelyn Evvard

A study utilizing the Bender Gestalt Visual Motor Test was conducted at the Lukachukai Boarding School on the Navajo Reservation in order to compare responses of the Lukachukai children to those tested and reported by Koppitz.[2] The study also was conducted to determine whether the test could be used for screening the academically "ready" from those who may need special help with their academic tasks.

A random sampling of 20 children each from grades one and two and 18 from the beginners' class were tested. Absences prevented our testing 20 children. The sampling was taken from a total of 204 children in the three classes. The children were tested in February, 1966.

The Bender Gestalt Motor Test consists of nine geometric designs, one to a card. The subject is asked to copy these designs. The time it takes to copy the design is recorded. Each subject is finally asked to respond to the design and say what it makes him think of.

The Results

The results of the tests are given in Table I. The means and standard deviations have been compared with Koppitz, both in terms of years in school and in terms of ages of the children. These children compare more closely with respect to age than years in school, suggesting that the test is an indicator of visual motor maturity rather than academic visual training and experience.

TABLE I

Mean Scores of Lukachukai Children Compared with Normative Data for the Developmental Bender Scoring System for Children

BY GRADE	KOPPITZ	NORMS	LUKACHUKAI	NORMS
BEGINNERS	13.5	3.61	8.55	3.11
FIRST GRADE	8.1	4.41	4.70	3.20
SECOND GRADE	4.7	3.18	2.80	2.70
BY AGE				
6-5	8.1	4.41	8.55	3.11
7-6	4.7	3.18	4.70	3.20
8-7	2.2	2.03	2.80	2.70

There were 30 possible errors to be made. Twenty-seven of the errors were made by 1-13 children in the beginners' class. Twenty-three errors were made by 1-9 children of the first grade, and 19 errors were made by 1-7 children of the second grade. Thus, fewer children made fewer errors as their ages increased. The errors not made by any child were: substitution of a line for dots in design 3, and substitution of a straight line for the sinusoidal curve of design 6. Only one child substituted a straight line of dots for the curve of dots in design 5.

Perseveration of designs 1, 2 and 6 dropped from a high of 44 percent of the beginners to less than 1 per cent of the second grade children. Errors in distortion of the angles of designs 6, 7 and 8 showed the same drop.

More than half of the beginners substituted angles for the sinusoidal curve of design 6. Only one second grade child made this error, which suggests that these errors were due to lack of muscular control at the earlier age.

The rotation of design 4 was almost as frequent an error in the second grade as in the beginners' class, in which 36 per cent erred. Rotation of design 7 was a problem only for the beginners' class.

Thirty per cent of the children in each class did not integrate the parts of design 4. Integration of design 7 was difficult for the beginners: 55 per cent failed to do so. In the second grade all children integrated the design.

The most difficult task for the first grade children was drawing the correct number of angles of design 7; 48 per cent failed to do this. The most difficult task for the second grade children was drawing design 4 without rotating it, and the substitution of circles for dots of design 5. Thirty-five per cent of the children committed these errors.

The first and second grade children were asked to name the designs. The vocabulary of the beginners was too limited for them to respond. Eighty per cent of the responses to design A were to the circle, specific responses being rock, letter O, head, world, star, etc. Eleven responded to the line of dots and one to the background (holes in the ground).

Responses to design 2 were to the discrete circles. Two responded to the line of circles; one said it was a step ladder. Most of the responses to design 3 were to the gestalt, 16 of the 40 calling it a tree. The responses to design 4 were almost evenly divided between either the open square (a box) or the curved line (hair, girl, bees, bird, cow horns).

Most of the responses to design 5 were to the gestalt (some called it a hogan). Five children responded to the discrete dots (period, marble, rock). The common response to design 6 was water and snake. The most common responses to design 7 were arrows and rockets. Pencils and arrows were the most common response to design 8, indicating that the children responded to the whole design.

Thus, almost all the children responded to designs A, 1, 2, 4 and 7 in terms of one of the two parts of the design and did not see the design as one gestalt. Designs 3, 5, 6 and 8 were seen as a gestalt.

One of our testers was Anglo. Of the children she tested (50 per cent), only two took longer than nine minutes and four shorter than four minutes, the average extremes according to Koppitz.[3] The other tester was Navajo. One of his testees finished in less than four minutes, but 16 first and second graders took more than nine minutes (range 10-58 minutes). Time has a different cultural meaning to the Navajo than to an Anglo. According to the Navajo, one can never finish anyway—life is a changing of events that is not finished even at death.

Scoring for possible brain injury at the beginners' level I believe to be difficult and the results extremely tenuous. Most of these children have had very little experience with holding a pencil and copying. Even though they compare well with their Anglo age-mates, I hesitate to suspect five of the 18 children of brain injury because of 5-7 indicators in their drawings. Since there was only one child in the first grade and one in the second grade whose drawings indicated brain injury, I suggest to postpone analysis for brain injury with the Benders until they are in first grade. However, the beginner child who had seven indicators of brain injury may be suspected.

Each drawing was recorded for emotional factors using the Koppitz scoring[4] merely to study any evident trends. There was a decrease in confused order of designs as was expected, since confused order is common among children 5-7 years old. There was a decrease in the number of children who drew designs of increasing size from beginners to second grade children (five beginners and one second grader). This behavior is associated with low frustration tolerance and explosiveness. Young Anglo children normally tend to have low frustration levels, so the results found here are consistent with those of Anglo children. There is an increase in the number of small drawings. These drawings "are associated with anxiety, withdrawal behavior, construction and timidity in children."[5] There is a large increase from beginners to first and second grade children which suggests these children may be anxious and timid about pressures of academic work. They do exhibit withdrawal behavior in class by refusing to respond to questions and work with which they are provided. There was a large increase in the number of children (from beginners to second grade) who reinforced the lines of their drawings. Their behavior, according to Koppitz, is associated with impulsiveness and aggressiveness.

The teachers of the children were asked to rank the children in their classes. These children were also ranked according to the Bender scores. There was practically no correlation between the two rankings.

Conclusions and Implications

1. The means and standard deviations of the scores of the children in

the study, when compared to children of like ages for the Koppitz study are very similar. These results suggest that children's drawings of the Bender do indicate visual motor maturation; differing experiences of the two cultures seem to have no significant effect on the responses.

2. The time taken to copy the design when the test was administered by testers of different cultural backgrounds, indicated that children may be responding to the cultural patterns of the tester. When confronted with an Anglo tester, the children gave the typical middle-class time response and finished within the time limits of the Anglo testees. Conversely, when the Navajo child found himself in the presence of a Navajo tester, he became a non-time-conscious Navajo. This kind of differential response by the first and second grade children also might come about because of their being pressured to achieve in a foreign, Anglo, academic world. The presence of this Navajo tester released their resistence to the whole gamut of that which they might have considered nonsensical, imposed tasks. Since the beginning pupils did not react to the culture represented by the tester, one may assume these children do not feel pressured to conform to Anglo authority.
3. The difference in time-for-tasks performance also indicates the abstracting ability of these young children. In one year they have discovered a fundamental difference between their culture and ours!
4. The differential response in time-for-task performance may have educational implication about the selection of teachers for these children.
5. There is little or no correlation between teacher ranking of these students and the Bender ranking. It is doubtful that the test can be used for academic readiness.
6. The trends of the emotional response of this group of children, as evidenced by the drawings, seem to be similar to the findings of Koppitz.
7. Further research is indicated in the area of the older pupils' responses to a Navajo tester.

* * *

References

[1] The New Basic Readers, Curriculum Foundation Series (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1962).

[2] Koppitz, Elizabeth M. *The Bender Gestalt Test For Young Children.* New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1964.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-141.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

Helping Navajo Children Change Pronunciation Habits

Yvonne J. Weaver and Evelyn C. Evvard

People who are concerned with the teaching of language recognize several difficulties encountered while the learner is attempting to master the sound system of a foreign language. One difficulty the student faces is that of hearing and producing sounds not found in his native language. Another difficulty is hearing and producing sounds found in his native language, but never in the new position of the foreign language. When such strange sounds or new positions are encountered, the learner tends to substitute as close an approximation as he can achieve from his own language for the sound of the language he is attempting to learn.

For instance, native English speakers tend to have difficulty producing the /ng/ sound as it occurs in initial position in Tagalog, although the sound is native to English in medial and terminal positions. They usually substitute an /n/ for the strange initial nasal sound. Navajo speakers have a /k/ in their language, but because this sound never occurs in terminal position, English words such as "kick" are difficult to produce. They usually substitute a glottal stop for the English terminal stop.

When we began work with children referred to us for remedial aid in oral English at the Navajo Demonstration School, it becomes evident that the initial problem we faced in aiding these children was that of facilitating the child's ability to make auditory discriminations between varying sounds. Children did not make such essential distinctions between sounds of words such as "c*a*ttle" and "k*e*ttle," "la*th*er" and "la*dd*er," "*d*ay" and "*th*ey," or even such words as "p*ink*" and "p*ig*" or "b*at*" and "b*ed*." The children did not make these sound distinctions for themselves and did not seem to be able to hear these distinctions even when others pronounced the words and contrasted the sounds for them. Context clues were the sole source of meaningful discrimination between such words, especially those words of a minimal pair category in which only one sound differed.

To begin our small group remedial language program we asked each teacher from the fourth through the seventh grade levels to submit a list of three children in his room whom he considered to be most in need of remedial language sessions. The teacher was asked to fill out a referral slip on each child, stating his opinion of the language problems of the child and other pertinent information. Classes were held once a week, with 20-minute sessions. Screening of the children indicated that of the 27 referred for remedial aid, two appeared to have language problems because of physical impediments. The remainder of the students had developed faulty habits of pronunciation.

The initial session with each child was spent chatting about his daily life, studies, ceremonials, etc., in order to familiarize the teacher and student with each other and to allow the teacher to make mental notes of difficulties the child encountered in expressing himself in free conversation. After this session the teacher entered evident language problems and other pertinent information in an individual folder for future reference.

The second session was devoted to practicing everyday Navajo phrases. In this session, the role of teacher and student was reversed with the student demonstrating various words and sounds and the teacher attempting to imitate them. During the course of this session the student was asked to point out on quickly sketched diagrams where certain sounds were made, to show in a small standing mirror the difference between ways the original and mimicked sounds were produced, and to think about the production of certain sounds, try them out and describe them so that they could be better mimicked. He was encouraged to be critical of attempts at mimicry. The purpose of this session was threefold: It motivated the child to begin his language studies with a high level of interest; it made familiar to him some of the techniques and equipment we were to employ while forming new pronunciation habits; and it gave the instructor a firsthand opportunity to observe how certain pronunciation habits would carry over from first to second languages.

The voiced th,/d/, was used for beginning language sessions. Selected because it presented a formidable difficulty in comprehension, it also could be demonstrated by visual method.* Using "mother" as a referent word, the children were shown how the /a/ was produced but not asked to produce it themselves. A random list of words, selected from the *Thorndike 1,000 Most Commonly Used Words List*, was compiled which contained the /d/ in initial, medial, and terminal positions distributed among an equal number of words which did not contain the target phoneme. Children were asked to raise their pencils each time they heard the /d/ pronounced. In later sessions the random lists contained more words of the minimal pair category, but the children still were asked only to discriminate the presence of the phoneme.

When, in the estimation of the teacher, each child had succeeded to a satisfactory degree in one level, he proceeded to the next. After the random lists were presented, the children were asked to discriminate between minimal paired words such as mo*th*er-mu*dd*er, fa*th*er-fo*dd*er, *d*ay-*th*ey, la*dd*er-la*th*er, *th*ee-*d*ee, *th*en-*d*en, and so on. Not all of the paired words were meaningful words, since the object of the lesson was solely the facilitation of auditory discrimination. After listening to each word, the child said "first" or "second" to designate the word with the target phoneme. He later repeated the same procedure with eyes closed, calling for finer aural discrimination.

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* Native speakers frequently produce the voiced th,/d/, without protruding the tongue between the teeth. The sound was demonstrated in the sessions by placing the tongue between the teeth in order to expedite the learning process.

Up to this point, minimal paired words had contrasted the English phoneme /d/ with the English phoneme /th/ as in the words la*ther*-la*dd*er. Now practice was given using a minimal pair list with the contrasting sound from the /d/ being a near reproduction of the sound the child normally substituted from his own language for the English phoneme. Many of the children who could distinguish adequately between the English phoneme experienced difficulty distinguishing between the English phoneme and the Navajo substitution for it.

Only after the children could discriminate the sounds were they asked to produce the target phoneme. The children were asked to produce the sound in a short sentence first. Sentences no longer than five or six words were used, since the task of memorizing longer sentences and producing the new phoneme seemed too complex for most students. If the child was unable to produce the sound in a short sentence, he tried it in a phrase. The child proceeded from sentence, to phrase, to word, to isolated sound, stopping and reversing the process at the point where he achieved successful imitation of the phoneme. During these stages the tape recorder was introduced, and the child was able to listen to the model and his own reproduction of it. Model sentences were of two types: those which contained only the phoneme in varied positions such as, "Bro*th*er is taller *th*an mo*th*er," and sentences which contrasted two sets of phonemes such as, "Give the fo*dd*er to fa*th*er."

When thild could give good reproductions of both familiar and strange sentences, it was time for the final session. In the final session the child was again led into free conversation on subjects where it was likely that the target sound would be encountered frequently. For example, conversation about the home and family tended heavily towards words such as "*th*e," "*th*ey," "fa*th*er," "mo*th*er," and "bro*th*er." If the child unconsciously retained the pronunciation habits he had demonstrated during the class sessions, we concluded he had mastered the target phoneme.

Summation of Learning Steps Used To Change Pronunciation Habits

1. The remedial teacher led the child into free conversation and noted difficulties the child encountered in expressing himself.
2. The student gave the teacher practice repeating Navajo phrases.
3. The student was asked to discriminate aurally between words by indicating which words in a random list contained the target phoneme.
4. The student was asked to indicate which words of a random list containing many minimal pairs contained the target phoneme.

5. The student was asked to indicate which words in a list containing only minimal pairs of meaningful and nonsense words contained the target phoneme.
6. The student repeated the indication process with the minimal pair list, but kept his eyes closed while listening to the pairs.
7. The student chose between minimal pair words in which the Navajo phoneme usually substituted for the target sound was used.
8. The student repeated process seven with his eyes closed.
9. The student attempted to produce the sound in sentence, phrase, word, or isolated sound, stopping and reversing the process at the point where he achieved successful imitation of the phoneme.
10. The student practiced short sentences of five to six words until he could give good reproduction of both familiar and strange sentences.
11. The student was led in free conversation which would call for the practiced sound to be used frequently.

Conclusions

1. Most of the children referred for remedial aid had difficulties based on habit formation rather than on physical handicaps.
2. Evidencing interest in the child's native language facilitated the language learning process by involving him in a more aggressive participation in it.
3. Students showed difficulty hearing sounds foreign to their native language in either formation or position.
4. Students tended to substitute sounds from their native language for those of the foreign language.
5. Many sessions emphasizing auditory discrimination of phonemes aided the ability to produce these phonemes.
6. Children who could distinguish adequately between two English phonemes still experienced difficulty discriminating between the English target phoneme and the Navajo phoneme which usually was substituted for the English one in normal conversation.
7. Practice was needed in drill incorporating both English-English and Navajo-English minimal pairs.
8. Pronunciation habits were not adequately set until they became matters of unconscious application.

Testing - Some Implications of Counselors and Teachers

Evelyn Evvard and Robert R. Weaver Jr.

In Part I of this study* we attempted to confine ourselves to a fairly concrete description of our testing program and its results. In Part II, we will take some of these rather concrete results and conclusions and discuss the implications valuable to counselors and teachers that are implicit therein.

Our first conclusion was that except for picture arrangement, results of the WISC performances indicated that Lukachukai children perform as well as or better than the children upon whom the tests were standardized. The implication here is obvious. *Any lack of achievement on the part of these children can not be related to lack of innate intelligence.* It might be well to note here, however, that early in our testing program we tried to administer the verbal section of the WISC to some of the students who had been particularly successful on the performance section. The result was not just a poor score. We found that we could not administer the verbal section to these children. They began to wring their hands, to tap their feet, and to show other signs of emotional stress. They became unable to respond in any way that made it possible to score their performance at all. The connection between this fact and the fact that these children with very few exceptions range from a year to two-and-a-half years behind the established norms for the Stanford Achievement Test is obvious.

Let us recapitulate a little. We have said in effect that the Indian children's responses to the stimuli presented in the performance tests are consistant with Anglo responses. The implication here is that these children show a hierarchy of developmental responses similar to those of Anglo children. We could assume then, with these children, the same relationship between responses on these tests and academic readiness for Anglo curricular materials as is assumed for Anglo children, if all other factors were equal. It is qúite obvious, however, that all other factors are not equal. If we are to continue to persist in expecting these Indian children to cope with materials prepared primarily for Anglo, urban, middle-class children, it behooves us to isolate and cope with some of the critical factors that are not equal.

Three obvious factors are mentioned again and again by the majority of educators who are working with Indian students. First is the language factor. It is easy to see that Indians can't cope with an Anglo-oriented curriculum if their English is not well in hand. Second is the environmental factor of isolation. Lukachukai students are not familar with the world of Dick and Jane. Third is the cultural factor of value conflict. Students who believe in co-operation instead of competition, who are present-oriented instead of future-oriented and who believe in accepting nature instead of manipulating it, will not achieve the same success with the typical curriculum as will urban middle-class Anglos as these values are written into the stories and so reinforce Anglo values but not those of the Navajo.

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*This is the second part of a longer study made by Evvard and Weaver at Lukachukai. The first part describes in detail the results of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC), performance tests and the Bender Gestalt Motor Test given to Navajo children in grades three through seven at Lukachukai.

The implicit fact here is that there is a choice. We can, if we wish, continue to stress the mastery of traditional Anglo-oriented materials. If our goal is to enable the Indian student to achieve the same success with these materials as does the Anglo child, then we must deal with differences in language, environment, and value systems of the Indian student. On the other hand, if our goal is not a closely paralleled achievement between Anglo and Indian student (as far as we have been able to ascertain, this *is* the goal of most educators of Indian students), we may choose another approach. We can devise a curriculum and materials pointed toward the Indian as he is. We can, if we wish, devise a curriculum that does not depend upon English as the academic language. We can devise a curriculum built around the Indian's present environment. We can devise a curriculum compatible with the Indian's cultural values. The important thing for counselors and teachers to be aware of is that this choice must be made by the educator of Indians.

Our test results indicate that the Indian students can achieve on an equal level with Anglo students if the above-mentioned factors are equalized. The question is: "Do we really want this closely paralleled achievement?" Before we set up programs for counseling Indian students, before we sit down to devise curricula and materials for Indian students, before we devise training programs for teachers of Indians, we *must* answer this question.

Predictive Value of the Performance Scale of the WISC and Bender Gestalt Visual Motor Tests

To conclude our testing program, a conference was held among the teacher, counselor, and tester of each student involved. In this way we shared information gathered by people who look at the student from different points of view. All teachers were asked to comment on how students related to authority and to their peers, and how they developed personally and socially. We also asked the teachers of each student to rank their classes for academic success, and found that teachers and WISC test scores ranked the students almost identically. If we wish to predict a student's probable future academic success under a traditional school situation, the ranking of his teacher will tend to predict as accurately as the test. This test *can* be used to offer some objective evidence as to a student's potential in cases where the teacher is in doubt.

Teacher comments were recorded and compared to results of the Bender Gestalt Motor Test. In one particular area an interesting correlation was noticed. Of the 50 students tested, 24 of them drew small figures on the Bender. Koppitz says this is an indication of shyness and withdrawal for younger children. All but two of the students indicated by teachers as shy and withdrawn were included in the 24 who drew small figures on the Bender. It would seem, then, that the Bender can be used as a device to screen out those students who do not have withdrawal problems.

There are indications that these shy, withdrawn children who draw small figures on the Bender are in trouble. In our random sample of 10 students from each grade, three through seven, there were three students who drew small figures in the third grade, five in the fourth, eight in the fifth, seven in the sixth, and only one in the seventh. This sudden drop in the number of shy, withdrawn students between the sixth and seventh grades could be explained by assuming that these students suddenly become less shy and withdrawn as they reach the seventh grade. We have noticed, however, that the opposite seems to be true, and we suspect that the real answer is that these withdrawn and extremely shy children are not in school by the seventh grade. Follow-through will be done on the students who have drawn small Benders in this program to ascertain what percentage of them become dropouts before entering high school.

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Points of Flint

Truett L. Hilliard

Fragile sharpness to sever tendons of life
Flew to flesh that ran to live.
Through the azure prism of yesterday's winter
Flakes of death rained hot flesh red
To fill the ache that gnawed the pit
Of a soft stomach's dream.
Walk, if you will, when the wild winds blow
The drifting sand of Llano Estacado.
For there in the wind blown sand
Are splinters of flint so skillfully chipped,
With intent to kill,
By forgotten hands.

The Changing Indians of the Southwest

George A. Gill

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The Bureau of Indian Affairs is the government agency handling many of the common services administered for non-Indians by states, counties, and municipalities. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is appointed by the President, confirmed by the Senate, and his authority is delegated to him by the Secretary of the Interior.

The Bureau has three distinct functions. One is to carry out federal programs authorized by Congress according to government rules and regulations. The second is to act as trustee for Indian lands and resources. The third, an increasingly important one, is to create a climate in which Indian groups can operate by and for themselves. This third function, self-sufficiency and planning of programs by the Indians themselves, is the primary subject of this article.

Mr. Robert L. Bennett, an Oneida Indian and the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, stated recently his belief that the Indian people should assume more responsibility in the direction of their own affairs. He said he had faith and confidence in the Indian people, their abilities, and their capabilities.

One basic key to the solution of the problems of Indians, whether in the areas of education, welfare and health, or living conditions, lies in the development of the economic employment potential of Indians and in the economic development of their land resources. Legislation, plans and proposals, in all of the areas welcome success *only* if the Indians themselves are directly involved in their planning and implementation. Repeated failures of programs planned by others for Indians has created some resentment among Indians so that they have become skeptical of new programs and have refused full cooperation. The continuous breaking of bona fide historical Federal Indian Treaties and commitments has traditionally kept the American Indian in a state of dilemma and suspiciousness of any outside assistance.

Instead of concentrating on the historical shortcomings of Indian and Federal government relations, this will be an over-view of some comparatively new programs that have been operating or are being initiated on the reservations today — programs that for the most part have been originally proposed and formulated by the Indians themselves for the Indian, with technical assistance often being received from various governmental agencies.

Certainly no avenue for betterment can be established unless the Indian himself is aware of the social, economic and educational problems that exist on their respective reservations. I am happy to say that this awareness has been established and tribal councils and committees are making many efforts to meet the needs of their people. The effectiveness of any program depends primarily on the initiativeness and the actual involvement of the tribal members in the solution of their existing problems.

Federal financial assistance statutes relevant to the American Indian include the following:

1. Area Redevelopment Act, 75 Stat. 47 (42 USC 2501)
2. Self-Help Housing Act, 63 Stat. 429 as amended (42 USC 1401)
3. Urban Renewal Act, 63 Stat. 413 (42 USC 1450)
4. Rural Housing Act, 63 Stat. 432 (42 USC 1471)
5. Public Works Acceleration Act, 76 Stat. 541 (42 USC 2641)
6. Planned Public Works Act, 68 Stat. 590 (40 USC 462)
7. Community Facilities Act, 75 Stat. 175, 76 Stat. 920 (42 USC 1491)
8. Low-Rent Housing Act, 63 Stat. as amended (42 USC 1402)
9. Housing for Elderly Act, 63 Stat. as amended (42 USC 1401)
10. Manpower Development and Training Act, 76 Stat. 23 (42 USC 2571)
11. Federal Housing Act, 71 Stat. 294 as amended (12 USC 1709)
12. Small Business Act, 72 Stat. 384 as amended (15 USC 631)
13. Farm Credit Act, 48 Stat. 257 (12 USC 1131)
14. Rural Electrification Act, 49 Stat. 1363, 63 Stat. 948 (7 USC 901); Ex. Ord. 7037 (5/1/35)
15. Fisheries Loan Act (Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956, 16 USC 742 C), 50 CFG, Part 250
16. Fishing Vessel Mortgage and Loan Insurance Act, 52 Stat. 969 as amended (14 USC 1271), 70 Stat. 1119 (16 USC 742a)
17. Elementary and Secondary Education Act — BIA included 1966 amendment
18. *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964*, 78 Stat. 508

This last act, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, was set up to mobilize the human and financial resources of the nation to combat poverty in the United States.

Under Title II of this Act, the concept of a Community Action Program was born — a concept based on the conviction that the Indian people directly affected by community improvement are most able to determine their needs and the best course of action for achieving their objectives through better existing communication channels.

The Indian Community Action Program provides financial support for local anti-poverty campaigns on Indian reservations. Coordinated programs, among others, include remedial reading, literacy instruction, job training, employment counseling, homemaker services, job development, vocation rehabilitation, and health services.

Besides financial assistance for the development, conduct, and administration of CAP, there are also grant funds available for research, demonstration, training, and technical assistance.

Title I and II — Provides for education programs for youth and adults.

Title III, IV, and V — Provides programs to enhance economic opportunities for farmers and small businessmen, and special programs to help unemployed family heads to get and keep jobs.

Title VI — Establishes the administrative framework for the Act and provides for a volunteer corps, Volunteers in Service to America, known as VISTA. *Note:* Many of these volunteers are now serving on Indian reservations where their skills are being utilized. Keep in mind, these workers are assigned to areas only if they are asked to serve.

The following itemizes a number of tribes and the educational OEO community action programs now being carried on by each and, in most cases, receiving technical assistance from the Indian Community Action Project at ASU.

ARIZONA:

1. *Cocopah* — Tribe is working with the county OEO program.
2. *Colorado River* (Mohave and Chemehuevi)
    - Administration
    - Headstart is pending
3. *Fort Apache*
    - Administration
    - Pre-school
    - Recreation
    - Adult Education
4. *Fort McDowell* — None as of now, but working with them.
5. *Gila River Pima*
    - Administration
    - Pre-school
    - Adult Education
    - Nelson Amendment (Beautification)
    - Recreation
    - Child-day Care
    - Remedial Education
6. *Havasupai*
    - Community worker
    - Headstart
7. *Hopi*
    - Administration
    - Health Aide and Homecare Project
    - Pre-school
8. *Hualapai*
    - Pre-school
9. *Kaibab-Paiute* — No programs at present — working with them. Cooperating with county program.

10. *Navajo*
    Administration
    Pre-school
    Recreation
    Culture Center
    Home Improvement Training
    Local Community Development Program
    Alcoholism
    Small Business Dev. Center
    Legal Services
11. *Papago*
    Administration
    Pre-school
    Remedial Education
    Parent-child Center
    Guidance and Counseling
12. *Salt River Pima*
    Administration
    Pre-school
    Child-day Care Center
    Program for the Aged
    Medicare
    Delinquency Program
13. *San Carlos*
    Administration
    Pre-school

NEW MEXICO:

1. *Acoma*
    Administration
    Pre-school
2. *Zuni*
    Administration
    Arts and Crafts
    Pre-school
    Legal Services
3. *Laguna*
    Administration
    Irrigation
    Pre-school
    Range Management
4. *Isleta*
    Administration
    Pre-school
5. *Sandoval County Indian Program*
    (includes Sandia, Zia, Jemez, Cochiti, Santa Ana, San Felipe Pueblos)
    Administration
    Pre-school
6. *Santo Domingo*
    Administration
    Community Beautification
    Pre-school
7. *Northern Pueblos*
    (includes Tesuque, San Idlefonso, Picuris, San Juan, Santa Clara, Pajoaque, Taos and Nambe)
    Administration
    Pre-school
8. *Mescalero Apache*
    Administration
    Headstart is pending
9. *Jicarilla Apache*
    Administration
    Alcoholism
    Pre-school under local

CALIFORNIA:

1. *Quechan*
    Administration
    Pre-school
    Recreation
    Nelson Amendment
    Home Enrichment
    Health Aide Program

The author believes this concept of Indian self-direction has initiated one of the greatest changes in the philosophy of Indians of the Southwest. The current budget cut-back of OEO funds will, no doubt, curtail and handicap some existing programs and postpone the enactment of some new development programs on the reservations. Regardless of this, there is no doubt that the Indian is now better prepared for self-determination and the desire to continue on with the improvement of conditions on their reservations.

There are several discernable trends in Indian Education in the Southwest. First, public school education is steadily overtaking the BIA in educating the major portion of Indian children. Secondly, there is an increasing demand on the part of tribal leaders and members for education *on* the reservation. Thirdly, tribal leaders are becoming increasingly interested in having American Indian history, traditions, and current problems included in the Indian child's school curriculum. In other words, they believe they should not only learn other peoples' histories, but also the history of the Indian people and their contributions to the growth and development of this great nation. A living example of this is the Rough Rock Navajo Demonstration School at Rough Rock, Arizona, directed by Dr. Robert A. Roessel Jr., presently on leave from ASU. At this school a cultural center has been organized and is an integral part of the Navajo school and the community.

The following is general education information concerning many of the tribes of the Southwest:

ARIZONA:

Camp Verde (Yavapai-Apache)
Education Committee
Small Scholarship Fund

Colorado River Tribe
(Mohave and Chemehuevi)
Education Committee
Scholarship Fund

Fort Apache
Education Committee
Scholarship Fund

Fort McDowell (Yavapai)
Education Committee

Gila River Pima
Education Committee
Small student assistance fund

Hopi
Education Committee

Hualapai
Education Committee
Scholarship Fund

Navajo
Education Committee
The Navajo tribe began its scholarship grant program with $30,000 in 1954. This was increased by $65,000 in 1955, and to $100,000 in 1956. In 1957, a $5,000,000 fund was established with the interest from this fund to be used for scholarship grants. This fund was increased to $10,000,000 in 1959, permitting an over-all scholarship award of $400,000 annually.

A junior college on the Navajo Reservation has been recommended by a study team from ASU, headed by Dr. Robert Ashe. Since 1954, the Navajo Scholarship Program has provided aid for 3,200 college and post high-school students. This survey report is now being studied by the Office of Economic Opportunity of the Navajo Tribe at Window Rock.

Papago
Education Committee
Small Student Assistance Fund

Salt River Pima
Education Committee
Small Scholarship Fund

San Carlos Apache
Education Committee

Note: Ak Chin, Havasupai, Kaibab-Paiutes, Prescott Yavapai, and the Cocopah have indicated they do not now have tribal education committees.

NEW MEXICO:

Jicarilla Apache
Scholarship fund

Mescalero Apache
Scholarship fund

Laguna Pueblo
Scholarship fund

Pojoaque Pueblo
Scholarship fund

The utilization of the named legislation, and the initiation of the many programs, does not mean a solution to all of the problems of the American Indian. However, it is a great stride forward.

In closing, I would like to cite the following by Manuelito, famous Navajo war chief, as stated to Chee Dodge, Navajo tribal leader and interpreter, many years ago:

> My grandchild, the whites have many things which we Navajos need, but we cannot get them. It is as though the whites were in a grassy canyon and there they have wagons, plows, and plenty of food. We Navajos are up on the dry mesa. We can hear them talking but we cannot get to them. My grandchild, education is the ladder. Tell our people to take it.

I believe that our Indian people are now meeting this challenge, and attempting to climb this ladder.

* * *

Report on Canadian Arctic Eskimos:

Some Consequences of Residential Schooling

Charles W. Hobart

Vo. 7, No. 2

Strategies for the rapid acculturation of culturally deprived and/or minority group children have been the subject of controversy for at least the last century. The technological explosion apparent during the last two or three decades, the spread of automation in industry, the educational upgrading of the North American populace, the proliferation of mass culture, all tend to make this issue increasingly urgent today. This article describes the consequences of one program for rapid acculturation, devised for the education of Eskimo children in the Canadian Arctic.

This report's data were gathered on three trips to the Western Canadian Arctic made during the summer of 1963, the winter of 1963-1964, and the summer of 1964. A total of four-and-a-half months were spent in 11 locations scattered between the Alaskan border in the west and Spence Bay on the west coast of the Boothia Peninsula in the east. During the course of these trips, 159 interviews were conducted. The largest number, 105, were with Canadian Eskimos, parents of children in schools and their children. Fifty-four interviews were with whites who had had numerous opportunities to observe children in or out of school, or adults following the termination of their schooling. In addition to interviewing these various kinds of informants, a great deal of time was spent observing classrooms in session, children and young people in their home communities, etc.

The School System in the Western Canadian Arctic

During the school year 1963-1964, there were 818 Eskimo children between the ages of 6 to 18 in the Mackenzie District, which comprises the Western Canadian Arctic. The schools are operated by the Education Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Four hundred and sixty-five of the children were in ten day schools in their own home communities and the remaining 353 were in residential schools. The largest group of these, 300 or so, attended the Sir Alexander Mackenzie School at Inuvik (Mackenzie River Delta).

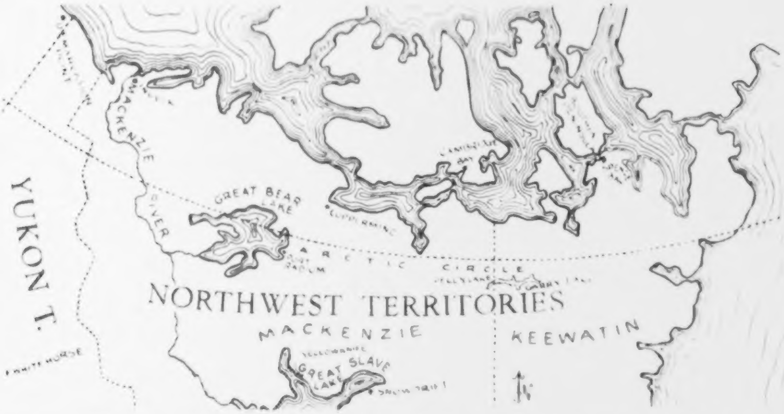
For those who were in day schools, the experience was little different from children in the Canadian provinces. The recently built, well-equipped buildings are comparable with those attended by rural white children in consolidated districts. The Eskimo child's classmates are usually children with whom he has grown up. The scene that he observes out the school window is a familiar one; the noises are all well-known; and the people moving around outside are people he has known as long as he can remember. Even the language problems of many Eskimo children are paralleled by a weak mastery of English by many "new Canadian" children.

However, for the child who attends the Inuvik school and lives in the hostel, it is a much different story. Some are only six years of age when they are flown as far as 800 miles to the residential school at Inuvik, from the tiny settlements and the hunting and fishing camps in which they lived "on the land." At the time of their first trip to the Inuvik school, most of them knew no English, had never slept alone, and had never seen running water. Many of them were used to a diet composed very heavily of meat — much of which was eaten raw. Many had never seen an assemblage of more than 60 or 70 people. Some yet lived in snow huts in the winter time.

The school facility and the educational program to which they came at Inuvik are indistinguishable from those provided in southern Canada for white Canadian children. The dormitory has modern bathrooms with running water and is heated to white standards of comfort — which is entirely too warm by Eskimo standards. The children sleep between sheets in their own beds in large rooms, housing between 60 and 75 children. The meals served in the dining rooms are excellent by white middle-class standards. There are no concessions made to Eskimo tastes in the menus. Reindeer meat was served at times because it was easily available, but it was cooked in the same ways that whites would cook beef. Children were issued clean new clothing as needed, which was of southern Canadian style. A full set of recreational facilities and equipment is also available, including ice hockey equipment and rinks.

The instructional aspects of the program are equally easily summarized. The curriculum in use, the Alberta curriculum, was designed for white Canadians, and has a pronounced middle-class bias. No systematic modifications are made in this material in the Inuvik school, nor are teachers free to make substitutions from other curriculum materials if they wished to.

The teachers are regularly certificated teachers who lack any special training for the teaching of "culturally deprived" and initially non-English speaking children. They sign two-year contracts and the majority of teachers return south after the termination of this two-year



term. Thus at any one time most of the teachers have had little experience with the peculiar problems they faced in their classrooms.

Consequences of the Residential School System

The attempt to describe comprehensively and accurately the consequences of such a varied and complex experience as education at the residential school at Inuvik is made difficult because of (A) the variety of possible consequences, and (B) because each consequence will differ with the background situation of the child. A word needs to be said about each of these.

(A) There are four possible kinds of changes which a child moving from an Eskimo settlement to a boarding school, and back, might experience. There may be (1) physiological changes in the way his body functions, (2) social psychological changes in his sense of personal security, his attitudes and motives, his way of relating to other people, (3) changes in his moral conceptions, in what he will and will not do, and in (4) non-moral cultural changes —changes in the skills, abilities, and in his expectations of life. Changes in each area will be summarized.

(B) The 1,200 mile sweep of the Arctic coast from Pelly Bay in the east of the Mackenzie District to Demarcation Point on the Alaskan boundary in the west is not a homogeneous area culturally speaking. Even Eskimos themselves in the western end of the coast distinguish between easterners, whom they call Kagmaliks, and their own people whom they call Innuit. These groups differ in white sophistication and acculturation, with those in the east the least sophisticated and those living in the Delta the most sophisticated. But the Delta people include bush dwellers and town dwellers. The Arctic Coastal people to the west of Bernard Harbor are more likely to know English because some have attended one of the old mission schools for at least two or three years. But they generally follow a traditional pattern of subsistence living on the land, excepting those working in communities like Cambridge Bay or at the DEW sites.

Our data do not justify attempting to distinguish between the responses to the boarding school situation of children from the many distinctive groups. Instead, following the usage of Vallee in his *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin,*[1] we shall distinguish two groups: the Kabloonamiut and the Nunamiut. The Kabloonamiut, or "People of the Whites," include the "town residents" and those who live and work on the DEW sites. Their wage-earning occupations, and living arrangements, the disciplines to which their lives are incessantly subjected, and the kind of fare that they eat all point to their orientation toward a "white-like" way of life.

Under the heading of Nunamiut, "People of the Land," we shall include all of those who live on the land, whether in the eastern or western areas of the Mackenzie District. Most of the informants who provided me with information on the Nunamiut children lived in the more remote areas of the Mackenzie District; thus, the discussion which follows reflects particularly the situation of children from these more remote areas of the Mackenzie District.

The Pattern Among the Nunamiut

Physiological Changes. There are two kinds of physiological changes which should be considered here: those due to changes in adaptation to cold and those due to changes in diet.

The interview data show that children who live in the hostels at Inuvik do become physiologically, as well as perhaps psychologically, adapted to the warmth and the diet which they experience there. In a high proportion of cases they suffer when returned from the "comforts" of the residential school to the cold and the all-meat diet typical of most of their home situations. There was no evidence of suffering when the reverse move was made.

Social Psychological Changes. By social psychological changes, we mean changes in the motives, attitudes and relationships of the Eskimo children as a consequence of their Inuvik schooling. Families in the more primitive settlements reported such changes much more frequently than families in more accultured surroundings. There are two reasons for this pattern.

(1) In primitive family situations there was a contrast between the comforts of the hostel and the privations of the home. The shock of transition was also greater from the home to the hostel, in the first place, as well as from the hostel back to home. These children have more reason for resentment toward their parents for subjecting them to this disturbing experience. Later they have more reason for resenting the claims of their parents when they are recalled to a home situation to be increasingly deprived in contrast to the school.

(2) Many of the problem behaviors of the returning children are quite characteristic of Kabloonamiut children, but not of traditionally-raised Eskimo children. Children in the less isolated communities have been

exposed to more western influences, and they show some of the characteristics of white children. The Nunamiut parents have not encountered these behaviors before, however, and they have no experience in trying to cope with them.

The pattern of those behaviors is a coherent one, reported by two-thirds or more of the parents in the Nunamiut settlements. It is the picture of an unhappy, dissatisfied, unadjusted child who was described as being "cranky" — a word used almost always wherever parents knew any English.

Disobedience and disrespectfulness are also reported in a high proportion of cases. A loss of respect for parents is an inevitable consequence of a child's schooling experience for a number of reasons. Perhaps the major one is that children discover that there are very many good things in life which are taken for granted, apparently, in the white world. Often the children come to appreciate luxuries which parents may have never heard of. In any case they are simply unable to provide them.

Another reason for the loss of respect is found in the content of the curriculum. This curriculum is an almost exclusively white curriculum; the Alberta curriculum as noted earlier. No *distinctly* Eskimo content is included at all. Since what is taught is felt to be important, what is not taught must be felt to be unimportant. Thus, the curriculum clearly implies it follows that Eskimo learnings are just not important. When the children now discover that their parents are almost completely unversed in these white learnings, which they themselves know by the age of nine or ten, a major loss of respect for parents seems almost inevitable.

Two other social psychological changes, both closely related to the crankiness perhaps, may be noted: jealousy and fighting. Jealousy is precisely the attitude which we would expect to find in children deprived, at the early age of six or seven, of their mother's love and care. The incidence of fighting, reported by about one-third of the parents, must be understood in the light of the traditional Eskimo attitude toward fighting. In the area covered by this study, Eskimos abhor fighting and are trained from infancy to appease others. However, the children who returned from Inuvik do tend to fight. One reason is suggested by the Dollard frustration — aggression hypothesis.[2] Fighting may reflect the frustrating physical privations in their home communities which children no longer tolerate easily after experiencing "the good life" at Inuvik. It also reflects the breakdown of the traditional internalized controls against aggressive behavior in the school situation where the children are encouraged to be competitive.

Informants agreed that usually the longer a child was away, the more problem behaviors he tended to exhibit. Complaining behavior tended to die out in older children as they discovered that it simply did no good. But disrespectfulness, uncooperativeness, and disobedience tended to increase with age.

Changes in Morality

Under the heading of moral changes is included "sneakiness," lying, stealing, smoking, drinking, and premarital pregnancy. We shall emphasize the first three since they are offenses against traditional Eskimo morality.

Most observers of traditional Eskimo society in the central Arctic have noted the absence of dishonesty and stealing in the majority of Eskimo settlements. Both Eskimo and white informants agreed that one aspect of Eskimo education at Inuvik was learning to steal. The teachers reported that whereas stealing was unknown during the first few years at Mackenzie School, it increased during the last two years.

About one-third of the parents reported an increase in "sneakiness," lying, or stealing in their own children. Note that the "sneakiness" and lying are the kind of response which one might expect, given the situation in which the children who have returned from Inuvik find themselves. Those with several years of residential schooling find that their parents cannot understand the situation in which the children now find themselves, yet disapprove of a number of non-traditional aspects of the children's behavior. When one can no longer want to do or to feel as he is supposed to, and when others cannot understand why he does, the response is to sneak or lie. Thus one tries to appear to conform where one is not fully able to do so; this a common response of the Eskimo children.

Cultural Changes

By cultural changes, is meant the changes in the skills, abilities, and norms of the children who attend the hostel school at Inuvik. We shall discuss classroom instigated changes and popular cultural changes.

The children certainly learn the academic material required; they learn to speak, read, and write English, to live in a southern Canadian style setting. And yet one may question just how much the children generalize from what they learn. In many respects it appears that the children do not apply, at home, what they learn in school. They merely learn to "play two different games."

Such a two response, or "two game" pattern is what one would expect of children in the circumstances. It is no exaggeration to say that they experience two completely different modes of life in their home communities and in school, and the only tie between the two is an airplane ride. In these two worlds, the children speak different languages, wear different clothes, eat different foods, live in strikingly different facilities, have different associates, follow different schedules, encounter different discipline, and enjoy different recreations.

Given these differences, one would expect a minimum of carry-over from the one life to the other, and observation suggests this is often true. Nunamiut children home from Inuvik are sometimes unable to integrate

English words with a previously known Eskimo melody. Girl graduates from the home economics training at Yellowknife very often keep their own homes with the same disorderly, dirty and unhygenic abandon as those who have not had such training. Their school training relates to a white world which they experienced as part of a completely different way of life, unrelated to their own homes.

Many of the potential benefits from academic training for these children are vitiated by the conflict they experience between the life for which school prepares them and the life their parents lead and anticipate for the children. Traditionally children have been the old-age insurance of Eskimo parents; one of the strongest traditional obligations of children was to aid their parents in hunting and fishing, when they became old enough to contribute to family subsistence. The age at which such aid is expected has been increased somewhat by the schooling programs introduced by whites, but in many areas the expectation that aid will be given is yet a powerful one, strongly internalized by the children themselves. It is common for parents in the more remote areas of the Mackenzie District to send word to their children when they are 15 or 16 that they are needed at home to help, and the changes in Nunamiut children result from their exposure to popular culture in Inuvik, particularly the popular adolescent culture which their youngsters experience in boarding school. As would be expected, the Nunamiut children learn virtually the full content of the adolescent subculture found in provincial Canada: clothing, food, and musical tastes, dance steps; interests in sports, motion pictures, movie stars, rock bands, and "comic books."

There is an element of danger for Nunamiut survival in this tendency in the local adolescent popular culture toward wholesale acceptance of white patterns and wholesale rejection of traditional Eskimo ways. The Eskimo styles are adequate to prolonged exposure to bitter cold; the white "black leather jacket style," which is very popular, is not. Young people who return to native settlements and enjoy a high status because they are better educated, encourage the spreading of styles which can only jeopardize the survival of those who use them. This trend is already well-developed. There is a tendency to look down on caribou skin clothing, though experts agree that it is the most efficient cold weather clothing in existence. In areas where clothing skins are available, children come to school inadequately dressed because their mothers are both too lazy and too proud to make skin parkas for their children.

The Pattern Among the Kabloonamiut

The reports of the Kabloonamiut parents concerning their children's behavior differed radically from those of the Nunamiut parents.

Physiological Changes. Kabloonamiut parents almost never reported that their children suffered from cold or from dietary changes when they returned home from the hostels. The reasons were obvious. These parents are living on a money economy rather than on a subsistence economy and they lived in settlements where they had continual access to stores, or to the commissaries of the DEW sites. Their housing facilities were generally more adequate, better constructed and insulated, better heated and more spacious than were those of the Nunamiut. The foods that the Kabloonamiut child found on the table at home were almost exclusively store-bought white foods, whereas the Nunamiut child often had to make the jump to a virtually all-meat diet with no transition at all.

Social Psychological Changes. In general rather than reporting an increase in crankiness, disrespectfulness, unhelpfulness, and disobedience, the Kabloonamiut parents reported that their children came back *more* mannerly, more helpful in performing household chores, and more obedient than when they went away.

There are several reasons for this striking and consistent contrast between the reports of the Nunamiut and Kabloonamiut parents. First, there are very consequential differences in the home situations in which the two groups of parents rear their children. The Nunamiut more often find themselves in a situation where they can indulge every whim of the child in the traditional Eskimo manner. The Kabloonamiut group, however, does have a greater abundance of white foods and other goods and is aware of the need to restrain the child either because of the child's welfare or the fragility of the goods. Thus, these parents try to restrain their children. But appropriate child controlling and disciplining techniques are not well practiced and understood among these people since they were not a part of traditional Eskimo culture and since they were not themselves raised in this way as children. Consequently the discipline which is imposed is sporadic and inconsistent: a mother lashes out at her child when she has had "all that she can take" and then, more often than not, she relents and permits the child to have his own way.

A second reason has to do with the community situation in which the children are raised. In the more primitive Nunamiut communities, the child tends to learn obedient, respectful, and helpful behavior from the example of age groups immediately older than he. The general conformity of the community, as a whole, is easily instilled in the growing child. In the more accultured settlements, however, there is no such consensus of socially constructive example from which children can learn. Rather there is confusion, inconsistency, and uncooperative, disrespectful, and even malicious behavior in those available to the growing child as role models. Consequently in the more accultivated communities, many Eskimo parents frankly cannot handle their children. The strict routinized formal controls of the hostels appeared to have a salutary effect on the unruliness of such Kabloonamiut children. This was recognized, gratefully, by the parents.

Changes in Morality

The reader may well expect, in view of the findings of the preceding section, that there were few complaints from Kabloonamiut parents of their children learning to "talk dirty," steal, lie, "be sneaky," drink or smoke. This was true; the reasons again are obvious. Much of this "immoral" behavior is very common in the communities in which the Kabloonamiut live, and is, in fact, common among the children there. Thus the likelihood is that the child has begun to learn it in his own community. What the parent discovers is that the hostel school authorities are more able to curtail this behavior in their children than they themselves are. As a result, the Inuvik schooling experience is more likely to reduce the incidence of this behavior in Kabloonamiut children, rather than increase it as in the case of the Nunamiut children.

Cultural Changes

As in the case of the physiological, social psychological, and moral changes the cultural changes which the Kabloonamiut children experience are neither as drastic nor as disruptive as are many of the changes which the Nunamiut children experience. In the first place, almost all of the children do speak English. White learnings in science, social science, and literature come more easily to Kabloonamiut children since they have had some of the experiences which are presumed by the Alberta curriculum, through their greater exposure at home to white magazines, movies, and other mass media.

It seems probable that the curriculum will seem less unreal and irrelevant to the Kabloonamiut child than to the Nunamiut child. There is far more continuity between the life he lives at home and in the hostel. He is far more likely to speak the same language, to wear more similar clothing, to eat similar foods, to live in more similar facilities, and to enjoy similar recreations at home and school, than the Nunamiut child. The points of sharp contrast between the two situations are reduced to three: having different associates, following different schedules, and encountering different disciplines. Thus the "two game" approach to life, which we suggested was inescapable for Nunamiut children, is far less so for Kabloonamiut children.

Further, the Kabloonamiut children are not as inescapably caught between the expectations of parents and home community, and the dreams of the future cultivated by the school as are the Nunamiut children. Most of the Kabloonamiut parents are already engaged in wage work. They no longer hold the conception of the son's obligation to work with his aging father and so to support his parents. They are far better prepared and more willing to have their children follow the path of opportunity, wherever it may lead.

Finally, unlike the Nunamiut child, the Kabloonamiut child is not caught up without warning in a popular adolescent sub-culture which is positively dangerous to his ability to survive in his home environment.

He would learn much of it whether he attended residential school or not for it is generally present in his own home community through exposure to the mass media of the southland. But since his work opportunities and his home and community facilities are more similar to southern communities than are those of the Nunamiut, the undermining of traditional Arctic clothing customs is not as dangerous as it is with the Nunamiut.

The diseducative and dangerous potential in the adolescent subculture is thus considerable attenuated in the case of the Kabloonamiut.

Summary

We have considered some of the physiological, social psychological, "moral," and cultural changes in both Nunamiut and Kabloonamiut children which result from their attendance at the residential school at Inuvik in the Canadian Arctic. We have seen that many of the changes which do take place are welcomed and appreciated by the Kabloonamiut parents. Little disorganization results from the boarding school experience, either for the child, his parents, or for the community in which he lives. The children usually experience no physiological changes. The disorganizing aspects of white culture they have experienced, or they would have experienced in their home communities. And in the residential school they do acquire habits and disciplines which largely make for improved adjustment in their homes and home communities.

But this is not true of the Nunamiut child. It is scarcely an exaggeration to suggest that for most of the Nunamiut children the schooling which they currently receive tends to be disorienting and diseducative. They are made unfit to live in the land camps which are their homes, in terms of attitudes, motives, and skills, but they are not adequately prepared to make a successful transition to wage work in town. A preference for the "good life" of the hostel is easily learned. But most are not able to learn what it takes to be a dependable skilled worker who is able to earn an adequate standard of living in town during the few years most attend school. It is from this group that many of the frustrated, hostile, and deviant young people, described by Clarimont,[3] are recruited.

* * *

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Florida Atlantic University Project—Report II:

Improving Reading Skills of Seminole Children

Harry A. Kersey Jr., Anne Keithley and F. Ward Brunson

Vol. 10, No. 3

The American Indian has emerged very much in the forefront of our national conscience during the last few years, and at long last the educational and social miasma of reservation life is receiving priority attention from the federal government. On July 8, 1970, President Nixon, calling the American Indians "the most deprived and most isolated minority group in our nation," proposed a broad program to provide more aid, including the creation of a special committee on education to review and recommend improvements in the educational status of all Indian school children. Hopefully, this will lead to a thorough reorganization of federal and public school programs for Indian children which have produced a drop-out rate twice that of the national average, where fewer than half of those who enter school ever finish high school, and less than one percent finish college.

Florida's Seminole Indians, as is the case with most of the nation's 600,000 Indian citizens, are fighting for economic and cultural survival. In this process they are caught between the traditional lifestyle and values of their tribe and the economic demands of contemporary society in which they must make their own way. Until recently the Seminoles have been held to a marginal economic existence primarily because they lacked educational skills; few members of the tribe could read, write, or speak English adequately enough to find employment outside the reservation.

This lack of education was deliberate in many cases, as the older people often refused to send their children to school. Today many young adults on the reservations can remember when their parents told them to run and hide rather than board the buses that would take them to school. However, many of these same young adults did attend school and are now assuming leadership of the tribe; for the most part they see education as one of the most important needs at this time.

If the Seminoles are to retain their traditional values and life-style, they must develop economic independence that will allow the young people to remain on the tribal lands and work in tribal enterprises rather than be drawn away into urban areas. In addition, a cadre of well-educated young Indians must be available to assume the positions now occupied by government officials in such areas as finance, education, land development, etc., if the tribe is to gain a dominant voice in running its own affairs. To these ends the current tribal leaders are supporting all programs that offer a greater chance for the educational advancement of their people. As might be expected, these educational opportunities are most restricted on the isolated rural reservations.

Seminole Program May Be Key

Even before the President's recent announcement, a team of educators from Florida Atlantic University had launched a program to help meet the special educational needs of Seminole Indian children residing on one of these reservations. If successful this approach may provide a key to the successful education of Indian youngsters in other parts of the nation as well.

The program described here took place during the 1969-1970 school year at the Ahfachkee Day School on the Big Cypress Reservation deep in the Everglades. The Big Cypress is the most isolated of the Seminole reservations. It is 45 miles from the nearest town and there was no all-weather road connecting the two until the late 1950s. Many of the dwellings on the site are substandard or marginal, although a tribal housing program is rapidly providing better accommodations for the people. Most of the residents work in some type of agricultural enterprise, or for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the tribe. The average annual income for many families is well below the poverty standard, and the formal education attainment among the parents is the lowest of the three reservations.

The Indian children attend [illegible] federal day school from kindergarten through fourth grade, and are taught by white teachers assisted by bilingual Indian aides. In the fifth grade these children are transported by bus to the town of Clewiston (a 90-mile round trip) to attend public school. The Seminole child finds this a difficult adjustment to make and the result has been poor attendance, low achievement and a high drop-out rate. There was not a high school graduate from Big Cypress until 1963. Increasing pressure from the Indian leaders, news media, and educators impelled the Bureau of Indian Affairs to take positive steps to rectify the situation.

In the spring of 1969, the Bureau of Indian Affairs arranged for Florida Atlantic University to investigate the educational situation on Big Cypress and make recommendations for upgrading the school program. The university team included clinical psychologists, educational psychologists, speech pathologists, psychometrists and reading specialists. Because there had never been a formal testing program at the school to assess the achievement or intelligence of the children, there were no usable cumulative record folders, and many children were not sure what grade level they had been working at the year before. Therefore, a necessary first step was to arrange for psychological and achievement testing, speech and hearing screening, as well as a survey of parental attitudes.

The data collected and analyzed showed that the children from Big Cypress were operating on a lower achievement level than their Indian counterparts on the other reservations, although as a group they displayed an average range of intellectual abilities and did not suffer from exceptional speech or hearing impairments. The problem, therefore, was to develop a remedial and compensatory program of learning which would reverse the trend of scholastic regression and enable the children to gain, and to compete successfully with their peers in public school. The Florida Atlantic team was given a contract from Title I funds to devise and implement such a program.

The program prescribed for the Big Cypress children is basically a peer-to-peer interaction on a multi-sensory basis, with special emphasis on peer-produced materials and an adaptation of the Fernald perceptual remediation technique. This approach was developed by Dr. F. Ward Brunson of the FAU staff, and has been used successfully with low-achieving migrant children at the Robert Markham Elementary School in Pompano Beach, Florida, as well as with other culturally different children. The additional challenge presented by the Seminole children was the fact that English is a "second language" for them, their native tongue being the unwritten Mikasuki language.

VAKT Technique Used

Individuals who have experienced difficulty learning to read need additional stimulation to convince them that they can learn. However, many children find it very difficult, if not impossible, to learn through visual and/or auditory pathways alone. Therefore, VAKT (Visual-Auditory-Kinesthetic-Tactile) makes use of tactile (touch, feeling) and kinesthetic (movement of large muscles) to reinforce the visual and auditory receptors in the system developed by Dr. Grace M. Fernald. Brunson's adaptation of the Fernald technique uses a peer to instruct a peer in most cases, rather than the customary procedures of an adult tutor. The advantages of such an arrangement are:

1. Because there are plenty of peers in any given group this technique is economically feasible where the use of a teacher for each child would not be logistically possible.

2. The children are closer in age and often a child can reach another child who is having difficulty when an adult cannot.

3. The slow-learning child does not compare his skills as unfavorably with others when he is not being taught by a teacher.

4. Youngsters feel reassured when everyone needs help sometime and it is not "stupid" or "dumb" to receive it.
5. The student-tutors often offer more realistic modes of behavior for the child and do not have unrealistic expectations about his performance.
6. A real growth of self-confidence and self-worth develops, both within the student-tutor and his tutee.

In order to institute this program at the Ahfachkee Day School a group of eight university students were selected and trained in the Brunson adaptation of the Fernald technique. Twice each week throughout the school year a team of four students was flown to the reservation to work with the children. Each university student worked with two or three Indian children in individual sessions lasting from 30 minutes to an hour.

Children Create Own Materials

The first step was to motivate the children to create their own reading materials, using their own experiences and words; these stories were illustrated by the children, then bound and laminated into books for their library. Using these books, the university tutors then employed the VAKT technique with selected Indian children who would become the student-tutors for their peers.

Ultimately, all children in the school would be involved in the remedial reading project, working on a one-to-one basis. The final step in the Brunson Peer-Produced Learning Program would have the peer-teaching followed with children gradually making more sophisticated books and audio-visual presentations as supplements to the regular school texts and materials. However, during this year only the first two steps could be accomplished due to the conditions at the school.

It was determined at the outset to concentrate on the third and fourth grades at the day school, as these were the children who would soon be transferred to public school. During the 1969-70 school year there were 14 children in those grades, ranging in age from 9 years-5 months to 11 years-6 months. The first months of the program were spent in establishing rapport with the children and getting them to make peer-produced books. By January approximately 50 such books had been completed and were available at the school.

When the time came to work with the Indian children using the VAKT technique, and to select those who would serve as peer-tutors, it was found that only two children of the 14 read well enough to serve in this capacity. Therefore, the remainder of the school year was spent in having the university students work with the third and fourth graders on their reading skills. It was felt that it was more important to improve the reading skills of the children as much as possible in the remaining months, than to try and institute a program that they were not ready to handle. Next year the third graders from this year will be in a better position to become peer-tutors, while this year's fourth graders will be a bit better prepared for public school.

Although the planned remedial reading program was not fully implemented, the university students did succeed in slowing the severe regressive trend that had been found previously in Seminole reading abilities. The instrument used to measure the results of their effort was the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT), on a pre- and post-test basis. Each student was used as his own control and his actual gain was compared with his expected gain (based upon his past performance). The fact that there was no significant difference seems to indicate the severe regressive trend has been replaced by a mild regressive trend and if this positive change continues to be substantiated by further research, a new breakthrough in Indian reading programs may be in the offing.

* * *

Dare Greatly

It is not the critic who counts,
Not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles
Or where the doer of deeds could have done better.
The credit belongs to the man
Who is actually in the arena,
Whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood,
Who strives valiantly,
Who bears and comes short again,
Who knows the great enthusiasm, the great devotion
And spends himself in a worthy cause,
Who at the best knows at the end
The triumph of high achievement;
Who at the worst, if he fails,
At least fails while daring greatly.
So his place will never be with those cold and timid souls
Who know neither victory nor defeat.

The above poem was quoted by Dr. Robert Roessel at the Eighth Indian Education Conference, March, 1967, at Arizona State University. It originally was a quotation of President John F. Kennedy, but the author is unknown.

Higher Education of Southwestern Indians

with Reference to Success and Failure

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Vol. 4, No. 2

Today is a time of crisis for the American Indian. Many of the Indian people recognize the role of education in solving their increasingly complex problems, but their opportunity to utilize this resource is limited by their low average level of educational achievement and the lack of professional training. Despite this crisis, little research has been done to determine the depth of its significance or to suggest its resolution. This is particularly true of education at the college level. In the past, the task of providing college education has not been accepted by any level of government or by the Indians themselves.

This study describes a critical area: the relationship of the Indian to higher education. It was limited to institutions of higher learning in the southwestern part of the United States, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah. Here, more than 50 per cent of the nation's reservation Indians live, over 150,000 individuals, members of 37 different tribes.

The success of the Indian in assuming increased responsibility and ultimately the management of his own affairs, may well depend on the quality and quantity of the education he receives in our institutions of higher learning.

Objectives

1. To assess the current status of the Indian in higher education including such factors as the number of southwestern colleges involved, the number of Indian students enrolled, the number of Indian drop-outs, and the problem areas identified.
2. To determine what institutions of higher education in the Southwest are doing in special programs for Indian education, what they plan to do and what they believe should be done.
3. To determine what the various Indian tribes in the Southwest are

doing in the area of Indian education, what they plan to do, and what they believe should be done.

4. To determine what specific factors should be taken into consideration when awarding scholarships to Indian students.
5. To determine the types of scholarships available to Indian students and to ascertain numbers awarded, monies expended and procedures used in awarding scholarships.
6. To determine factors related to the success and failure of Indian students in college.
7. To ascertain possible factors which appear to be reliable predictors of academic success of Indian students in college.

Procedure

In the design for the study, the following procedures were utilized:

1. All data and information collected by various government agencies, Indian tribes, and others were collated and organized into pertinent categories.
2. Contact via interviews and questionnaires was made with a representative of 43 colleges in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah. The representative was asked to identify Indian students attending that institution and to obtain the requested information on every Indian student so identified.
3. The names of Indian students enrolled in all Southwestern colleges and universities during the academic year of 1958-59, 1959-60, 1960-61 and the first semester 1961-62 were collected.
4. Information was requested in the following areas on every Indian student who attended college during the period covered by the study:
    a. information obtained from Indian students
    b. information obtained from college records
    c. information obtained from student's college instructors and advisors
    d. information obtained from high school records
5. Additional information was requested on every Indian student who was identified as having attended college during the period of the study but who dropped out of school. Data were collected in regard to the reasons for leaving school and parents' attitudes toward students dropping out.
6. A group of 50 non-Indian college students was utilized in order to understand better the significance of the results obtained.

7. The data on each student (in and out of school) were coded on an individual sheet and then processed on IBM cards.
    a. the analysis consisted largely of making frequency counts and determining the proportion of persons who responded each of several ways to each question.
    b. a separate analysis was made for the Indians in school, the Indians who dropped out and for the non-Indian group.
    c. where possible, comparisons were made between Indians in school, and Indian drop-outs and between Indians in school and non-Indians.
    d. Pearson Product-Moment Correlation was used to describe the degree of relationship between 69 potential prediction variables and grade point averages.
8. Visits were made with each of the 37 Southwestern tribes and interviews conducted with tribal leaders related to tribal programs for college students and tribal problems.

Results

1. Review of the literature indicated that Indian students who are most successful in higher education have committed themselves to learning and to accepting the dominant culture or have been completely identified with white society.
2. Generally speaking, there has been a steady increase in the number of scholarships awarded to Indian students attending school in the Southwest.
    a. during the period 1958-61, Southwestern tribes granted a total of 838 scholarships.
    b. during the period 1958-61, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Phoenix and Gallup Area) granted a total of 396 scholarships.
    c. during the period 1958-61, other sources granted a total of 462 scholarships not exclusively to Southwestern Indians.
    d. considering all sources, a total of 1,696 scholarships were granted during the period of study.
3. Generally speaking, there has been a steady increase in the amount of money expended on scholarships for Indian students.
    a. during the period of 1958-61, Southwestern tribes awarded a total of $859,983.40 in scholarships.
    b. during the period 1958-61, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Phoenix and Gallup Areas) awarded a total of $176,437.66 in scholarships.

c. during the period 1958-61, other sources awarded a total of \$147,868.50 in scholarships (not exclusively awarded to Southwestern Indians).

d. considering all sources identified in the study, a total of \$1,184,289.56 was awarded in scholarships during the period of the study.

4. A total of 15 college Indian education courses was reported by Southwestern institutions. (Each of these courses included the word "Indian" in the course title.) Twelve of the 15 were offered at Arizona State University.

5. Very little comprehensive research has been done in the field of Indian education. However, there has been a great deal of anthropological and sociological research involving Indians. In light of the exploding Indian population and perplexing problems facing Indians, it is felt that much more research needs to be directed at the broad area of Indian education.

6. This study identified only five cases of financially sponsored research in the area of Indian education. Two were reported as completed and three were reported in progress.

7. Indian clubs play an important role in colleges and universities enrolling a number of Indian students. Ten of the 43 Southwestern institutions of higher learning have active Indian clubs on campus. In almost every case, membership is not restricted to Indians but is open to any interested student.

8. Nine colleges and universities provided a special guidance and counseling service for Indian students. Three institutions provide released time for faculty members to provide this service.

9. Three colleges provide a tutoring service for Indian students.

10. Many colleges and universities have made their services available to the tribes and to schools enrolling Indian students, as illustrated by the University of Utah, Brigham Young University, Arizona State College*, Arizona State University, University of Arizona, Ft. Lewis A & M and the University of New Mexico.

11. The five southwestern institutions with the largest Indian enrollments were Arizona State College, Arizona State University, Brigham Young University, Fort Lewis A & M, and the University of New Mexico. These five schools enrolled 70 per cent of all Indian students in schools identified by this study in the four state area.

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* Now Northern Arizona University.

12. Fifteen of the 37 tribes studied do assist members who go to college in several different ways:
    a. fourteen have scholarship programs
    b. seven make loans for higher education
    c. seven provide summer employment for college students
    d. five tribes locate job opportunities
13. Fifteen of the tribes have formal education committees. Seven tribes have scholarship committees.
14. Four of the tribes who do not have scholarship programs indicated that such programs are being planned and will start soon. No Southwestern tribe ever started and later discontinued a scholarship program.
15. Education committees provide a variety of functions. Among their more frequent services are:
    a. promotion of better school attendance
    b. visitation to schools
    c. development of tribal educational programs and policies
    d. interpretation of school programs to Indians
16. Five tribes promote summer youth programs. These are the Navajo, Jicarilla Apache, White Mountain Apache, San Carlos Apache and Utah Ute tribes.
17. Interviews were conducted with 60 tribal leaders representing the 37 tribes included in this study.
18. Seventy-three per cent of the tribal leaders interviewed identified education as a crucial problem facing American Indians today. Education was mentioned more frequently than any other problem. Employment was the second most frequently identified problem.
19. All tribes without any assistance programs for higher education gave inadequate funds as a reason for non-assistance. Half of the tribal leaders interviewed felt that a tribe with limited financial resources might assist more of its members to go to college by identifying all possible scholarship sources. This was the most frequently mentioned answer to the problem.
20. Thirty-five per cent of the tribal leaders declared that scholarship recipients should return and render service to the tribe while 55 per cent said that they should not be required to do so.
21. Eighty-seven per cent of those interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the number of Indian students who go to college. Only 10 per cent indicated satisfaction.

22. The three major reasons for college drop-outs as identified by Southwestern tribal leaders were:
    a. financial reasons (48 per cent)
    b. lack of encouragement from family and tribal leaders to stay in school (38 per cent)
    c. inadequate preparation (38 per cent)

23. The four major ways to help Indian students succeed better in college as identified by tribal leaders were:
    a. keep in touch with the Indian in college and let him know the tribe cares (55 per cent)
    b. more adequate financial aid (35 per cent)
    c. more college orientation programs (33 per cent)
    d. better pre-college preparation (33 per cent)

24. During the period of study (September 1958 through January 1962), 416 Indian in-school students were identified in 27 Southwestern colleges and universities.

25. During the same period 237 drop-outs were identified.

26. The Indian students attending colleges and universities in the Southwest represented 89 tribes, 37 of which are in the Southwest. Two hundred thirty-three were Navajo, 30 were Hopi, and 19 were members of Laguna Pueblo. These three tribes had the largest representation.

27. The Indian student is more dependent on scholarships than the non-Indian. Eighty-one per cent of the Indians and 20 per cent of the non-Indians received scholarships.

28. Considering only those Indians in school who received a scholarship, 46 per cent had a tribal scholarship, 21 per cent received a Bureau of Indian Affairs scholarship, 19 per cent received a scholarship from the college they attended, 16 per cent received a scholarship from some other source such as a religious organization or foundation and 3 per cent had a business or industry scholarship.

29. Only 26 out of the 402 Indians in school, for whom grade point averages were available, had a grade average of 2.75 or higher. Twelve of these 26 students were from Southwestern tribes.

30. Thirty-five per cent of the Indians in school had less than a "C" average (2.00).

31. On standardized tests the Indians scored lower than the national norms in all areas, on all tests, except on the numerical, abstract

reasoning, clerical, and spelling sub-tests of the Differential Aptitude Test.

32. Economic and social variables were not related to grades.

33. Cultural and academic variables were related to grades.

34. Facility with the English language seems to be of even greater importance for success in college among Indians than it is among non-Indians.

35. There seems to be a definite, but not striking, tendency for students who come from homes where English is never spoken to do better in college than the students from the other categories.

36. Forty-one per cent of the students from homes where English is not spoken received a grade point average of 2.0 or better. Thirty-two per cent, 31 per cent, and 35 per cent respectively of students from homes where English is spoken "some," "usually," and "always" received a grade point average of 2.0 or better.

37. The middle third of the high school graduating class did not achieve in college as well, on the average, as those from the lower or upper third of their graduating class.

38. Test scores which were predictive of success in college involved a verbal and/or reading component.

39. College instructors' ratings all showed some relationship to college grades whether concerned with academic or personality traits.

40. One-half of the Indian students in college were freshmen. Sixty-four per cent of the Indians and 57 per cent of the non-Indians had a course load of 15 or more semester hours.

41. The Indian reported that he spent more time outside of class preparing for his school work than the non-Indian. The mean number of hours of study for the Indian was 16 to 20 hours per week while for the non-Indian it was 11 to 15 hours per week.

42. The Indian reported spending a great deal more time in the library than the non-Indian. Thirty-three per cent of the Indians and four per cent of the non-Indians spent more than seven hours a week in the library.

43. Thirty-two per cent of the Indians in school and two per cent of the non-Indians had been on academic probation.

44. Significant differences between the in-school Indians and Indian drop-outs were found in these areas: the drop-out was more likely to have been born on a reservation; he was more likely to have spent all his years in an elementary school on a reservation; he

was more likely to come from a larger family; his father was older and less well educated; he was more likely to have completed one and one-half to three units of vocational subjects in high school; he was more inclined to discuss only academic problems with his college instructors; he was more inclined to be rated by his college instructors as less neat or indifferent to personal appearance than the typical student; he was inclined to study less and to spend less time in the library; and he was more likely to be placed by his college instructors on the undesirable end of scales which rated ability to do independent work, interest in classroom instruction, quality of classroom comments, dependability, self-confidence, perseverance in school work, soundness of decisions, and ability to express oneself in oral or written English.

45. There was a slight tendency for full blooded Indians to be less successful in college than those of mixed blood.
46. Married students were more likely to get higher grade point averages than were single students.
47. The student's age was significantly related to grade point average in a positive direction suggesting that the older the student is, the better chance he has of making satisfactory grades in college.

Conclusions

1. Since the findings of the study indicated that high school rank in class is only slightly related to college grade point average, the following factors should be considered when awarding scholarships:
    a. test scores which give heavy weight to verbal and language components.
    b. rating of academic characteristics by high school teachers.
    c. rating of personal variables by high school teachers.
    d. a biographic inventory based upon cultural variables.
2. Since college grade point average and finances do not appear to be related, other factors than finances, such as those mentioned above, should be given primary emphasis in awarding scholarships.
3. Since tribal leaders and scholarship granting agencies frequently identified inadequate high school preparation as a reason for Indian college drop-out, high schools enrolling Indians should carefully and thoroughly examine their academic programs to determine whether they are meeting the needs of the academically talented Indian.
4. Since evidence collected from college instructors revealed that

students described by their instructors as being able to complete assignments without individual assistance did better than those described as requiring help more often that not, high schools enrolling Indians should provide positive assistance to develop independent study habits for the college-bound student.

5. Since the findings of the research revealed that cultural problems faced by Indian college students differentiate between success and failure of Indian students, colleges should make a determined effort to assist in the identification and resolution of these cultural problems.

6. Since there is a high relationship between willingness to express oneself and success in college, high schools should provide as much opportunity and encouragement as possible toward self expression on the part of Indian students.

7. Since high school rank in class is only slightly related to college grade point average, high schools should re-examine their evaluation practices, particularly with regard to the average or below average student.

8. Since test scores on verbal and language components are highly related to predicting college success, elementary and high schools enrolling Indian students should critically examine their English programs so as to determine the areas of difficulty and what can be done to improve the programs at all levels.

9. Since facility with the English language seems to be of even greater importance for success in college among Indians than it is among non-Indians, all schools enrolling Indians should expand their efforts and experiment with ways to teach English more effectively to Indian students.

10. Since the findings of the study revealed that tribal leaders often have limited contact with institutions of higher learning and frequently were unfamiliar with available programs and services, colleges and universities should expand their efforts to communicate with and serve those tribes in their area.

11. Since Indian students are more dependent on scholarships than are the non-Indians, all scholarship granting agencies (state, federal, tribal, private, etc.) should extend and expand their efforts so as to make available scholarships for all qualified students.

12. Since there seems to be a definite, but not striking tendency for Indian students who come from homes where English is never spoken to do better than students who come from homes where English is spoken, further research is needed to determine the reason for this perplexing fact.

13. Since tribal leaders and scholarship granting agencies frequently mentioned the need for qualified high school and college counselors for Indian students, those institutions with large Indian enrollments should provide a counselor who has had ideally both professional guidance certification and also a thorough understanding of Indian culture.

14. Since certain tribes with substantial scholarship programs do not have readily available adequate records concerning their scholarships, every tribe with a program should keep complete and up-to-date records. These records should include: number of grants, size and range of grants, sex of recipients, colleges attended, current curriculum and cumulative grade point average, number of drop-outs, and others.

15. Since the findings revealed that Southwestern tribes have recognized both the value and need for education, all tribes should provide for a tribal education committee as a part of tribal government. Tribes need an active and enlightened body which has as its primary responsibility, education. The education committee must bridge the old and the new and must be able to communicate effectively with both the traditional and progressive elements of the tribe.

16. Since tribal leaders declared that many Indian college students do not receive adequate encouragement from home, every tribe should develop a program whereby the tribe can provide a maximum amount of encouragement at the tribal level as a partial substitute for inadequate parental encouragement. This may be done through the education committee or some other branch of tribal government.

17. Since tribal leaders and scholarship granting agencies frequently mentioned the lack of understanding on the part of teachers as a factor contributing to the lack of success of Indians in education, tribes and institutions of higher learning should combine their efforts and help prepare teachers, and others dealing with Indians, to have an understanding of Indian culture.

18. Since the findings of the study indicated that parental pressure does not seem to lead to higher college achievement, Indian students themselves should be convinced about the value of higher education. It is felt that the tribe, school, and the home can help the student understand the significance of education.

19. Since education was identified by tribal leaders as the major problem facing Southwestern Indians, every tribe should examine critically its educational plans and programs to determine whether such programs adequately reflect the high position education enjoys in tribal thinking.

20. Since several institutions within the Southwest have developed rather extensive programs in the area of Indian education, such institutions should cooperate closely with other colleges and universities and share the results of their research and services. It is felt that some organization could be created, composed of colleges and universities with substantial numbers of Indian students or with substantial interest in Indian education, and this organization could meet at regular intervals and have some medium of communication.

21. Since Indian students may not have an accurate picture of what college entails, they should be told how many hours of preparation outside of class and in the library may be necessary to succeed in college. The high school and the college must share this responsibility and prepare the student by informing him what is necessary for success in college.

22. Since grades are the direct evidence of success in college, scholarship granting agencies should give primary attention, when considering renewals, to college grades and not to indirect measures such as test scores, instructors' ratings, or information from biographic inventories.

23. Since the findings of this study demonstrated that Indian college students often have particular difficulty in English, colleges and universities with substantial numbers of Indian students should provide all possible assistance in the area of English.

A Demonstration in Navajo Education

Thomas R. Reno

Vol. 6, No. 3

Several years ago, Mr. Allen D. Yazzie, chairman of the Navajo Tribe Education Committee, and other tribal leaders discussed at length the needs of Indian education. They felt that many important areas of Indian education were being neglected in existing schools. The needs, as identified by the tribal leaders, included the following: meaningful school boards, cultural identification programs, community education and community development through the community school, Navajo language learning, home and school visits, guidance and counseling, and in-service training.

Mr. Yazzie followed up this meeting by contacting Dr. Robert A. Roessel, then director of the Indian Education Research Center at Arizona State University, Tempe. Dr. Roessel assisted Mr. Yazzie in putting into words these identified needs. The outcome was a formal research proposal.

At the same time, the Economic Opportunity Act was passed, providing funds for demonstration projects in so-called poverty areas. Mr. Yazzie, Dr. Roessel, *et. al.*, presented their proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity; the OEO felt that it would be significant to demonstrate these ideas about Indian education and community schools.

A Bureau of Indian Affairs school at Lukachukai, Arizona, was selected as the original site of the demonstration project. The Navajo Tribe was granted $214,300 for the operation of the project for one year — ending June 30, 1966.

Evaluation of the Lukachukai project showed some successes and some disappointments. Perhaps the biggest disappointment lay in the fact that the school board could not function as the tribe wished it to. Bureau of Indian Affairs schools are federal government schools and must abide by civil service regulations. The school board, therefore, could not do the hiring and firing and were forced to play less of a role than their interest and knowledge allowed.

The Navajo Tribe, the OEO, and the BIA still felt that the demonstration project warranted further investigation, and all three agencies exhibited interest in giving the demonstration a better chance for success. With this in mind, the BIA turned over to DINE, Inc., a non-profit, private organization of Navajo leaders created for just this purpose, a new $3 million school in one of the most remote and traditional areas of the reservation — Rough Rock, Arizona. Along with the school, the Bureau gave a $307,000 budget allotted for operation and the food supply for the year. In addition, the OEO granted $329,000 for intensive experimentation and demonstration in the following areas:

1. School-community relations and parental involvement
2. Cultural identification
3. Home and school visitation
4. Language development and teaching English as a second language
5. Navajo language learning
6. In-service training and staff orientation
7. Adult education
8. Dormitory living
9. Guidance and counseling
10. Auxiliary services:
    - a. Evaluation
    - b. Recreation
    - c. Art
    - d. Finances
    - e. Social worker
    - f. Library

The Rough Rock Demonstration School belongs entirely to the Navajo people, through the local school board and the Board of Directors. BIA and OEO have turned over all funds to DINE, Inc. with "no strings attached." The local Board of Education operates the school and sets all broad policy.

The school recently completed its sixth month of operation. The half-year evaluation shows all areas of involvement running well, and some rather revolutionary programs and policies in Indian education being extremely well demonstrated.

Rough Rock Demonstration School is unique among Indian schools for several reasons:

1. The Navajo people are actively involved in the operation of the school.
    - a. The funds for the school have been assigned to the governing body, DINE, Inc., (Demonstration in Navajo Education), an all-Navajo group.
    - b. The policies of the school are established by the all-Navajo school board, elected by the community, and the Board of Directors. In most other schools, school officials or other professional personnel establish policies and initiate activities, often without advising or consulting the community.
    - c. The school board meets with the chapter (local government unit) to discuss school affairs and holds regular school-

community meetings to discuss school affairs and to work out school-community relations and projects.
    - d. Parents from the community work in the dormitories on a rotating basis, living there for four weeks, acting as foster parents and adult counselors to the boys and girls.

2. The school maintains close contact with the home.
    - a. Students are not only allowed but encouraged to go home for weekend visits as often as possible. In many schools, only one home visit a month is allowed and only on designated weekends.
    - b. Teachers visit the homes of their students to explain the school's program and to discuss the child's work. At least four times a year, the teacher, accompanied by the child, goes to see the parents of each student.
    - c. Parents are encouraged to visit the school and classes at any time. In many Indian schools, the parents are not encouraged to visit the classroom since, it is thought, their presence detracts from the education of the child.

3. The cultural identification program makes Navajo culture a significant and integral part of the school program. In many Indian schools, students are directly or indirectly pressured into giving up their Navajo cultural heritage. At Rough Rock, where a "Both-And" approach is used, students are exposed to important and helpful values and customs of *both* Navajo culture *and* the dominant Anglo society.
    - a. There is instruction in the Navajo language.
    - b. Students are taught Navajo history in both the classrooms and the dormitories.
    - c. Formal instructional sessions, as well as informal conversations with dormitory parents, acquaint students with Navajo etiquette, beliefs and lore.
    - d. Students may use their native Navajo language in the dormitory, in the dining hall, on the playground, and in the school. In many schools, students are forbidden to use Navajo; often they are penalized if they do so.

4. The school provides in-service training to staff members.
    - a. Many Navajos who could not be employed at other schools because they are not high school graduates or do not even speak English have been hired in various capacities — dormitory instructional aides, janitors, dormitory parents, kitchen aides, maintenance helpers.
    - b. Inexperienced Navajo employees are given instruction in their jobs while they are employed.
    - c. Other employees are given the opportunity to take high school work or extension college courses at the school.

  d. All employees were given a three-week orientation before school opened to acquaint them with the history of the Navajo people, the philosophy and objectives of the school, and the unique features of Indian education, with emphasis on those things to know when working with Navajo children.

5. The school provides meaningful adult education opportunities for community members. Most schools offer instruction which requires adults to be familiar with English; the Demonstration School makes it possible for non-English-speaking adults to learn necessary skills.
   a. Instruction in the English language and in English literacy is offered to employees and to community residents.
   b. Adults may learn how to repair automobiles and trucks.
   c. Instruction in home economics gives basic instruction in nutrition and food preparation to the women of the community.
   d. Woodworking instruction makes it possible for men to learn a marketable skill and to learn to construct items needed in their homes.
   e. Women in the community can learn to use the electric sewing machines in the dormitories and can use those machines to make and mend clothing for their families.

6. A variety of auxiliary services provides assistance to the community.
   a. Laundry facilities are available for community use.
   b. Shower facilities can be used by community residents.
   c. The recreational department plans activities to which community members can come and which they will enjoy.
   d. The school library is open in the evening for the use of staff members and community people.

7. The school encourages community members to know about and become skilled in traditional Navajo arts and crafts.
   a. Skilled Navajo craftsmen are on hand to demonstrate the arts and crafts of the Navajo people.
   b. Interested adults of the community are invited to learn any of those crafts.
   c. Examples of Navajo arts and crafts are displayed in the school.
   d. Sale of crafts provides income for craftsmen and trainees.
8. The school constantly attempts to provide employment opportunities for community members.
   a. Its employment policies enable the school to broaden its economic role in the community.
      1) By offering reduced wages, Rough Rock Demonstration School is able to employ increased numbers of people.
      2) Many positions are filled on a rotating basis, thus giving ex-

perience and wages to many members of the community.

b. Local people are hired as dormitory parents, laundry workers, arts and crafts trainees.

For those readers who may wish to inquire further about the School and its innovations, write:

Rough Rock Navajo Demonstration School/Chinle, Arizona 86503.
Tel.: (602) 781-6283

* * *

San Juan Indian Pueblo Lullaby

Song by Mary R. Cata
Translated by Herman L. Cata

Walking on grass, the [*savijou*] [*sendo*]
is coming after you.

He has little eyes, carries a bag on his
back as he comes.

He'll put you in his bag,
He'll carry you away.

Don't you cry baby, Don't you cry,
[*batzi*] go to sleep.

oo lu loo loo, [*lueh*]
oo lu loo [*lueh*]
oo lu loo loo [*lueh*]

Don't you cry baby, Don't you cry
[*batzi*] go to sleep

oo lu loo loo [*lueh*].

Who is dead-asleep
Who is dead-asleep

[*Einini*] [*povi*], is a young man
[*Saijou*] [*povi*], is a young lady

le oo eh
oo lu loo [*lueh*]
oo lu loo loo [*lueh*]
oo lu loo [*lueh*]

An Overview of the Rough Rock Demonstration School

Robert A. Roessel Jr.

Vol. 7, No. 3

In the early 1960's, Allen D. Yazzie, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Education Committee, and other Navajo leaders discussed the unique needs of Indian education. They felt the schools then educating Indian boys and girls neglected several important areas. Among these areas were meaningful local school boards, cultural identification, community education and community development, native language learning, home visits, and guidance and counseling.

In 1964, when the Economic Opportunity Act was passed providing funds for demonstration projects in poverty areas, Allen Yazzie and his associates presented a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity. OEO felt it important to demonstrate these ideas about Indian education and agreed to fund a three-year demonstration in Indian education. The Navajo Tribe received $214,300 from OEO for the first year of the project, July, 1965 to June, 1966.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which was also interested in trying new approaches, offered the Bureau school at Lukachukai, Arizona, as the site of the demonstration project. The offer was accepted and the first year of the demonstration in Indian Education was at Lukachukai.

A factor which plagued the first year operation was that the Lukachukai BIA school had its own staff and administrative organization, while superimposed on this was the new OEO staff with its administration. A two-headed horse rarely wins a race and Lukachukai proved no exception.

Evaluation of the Lukachukai project at the end of a year revealed both successes and disappointments. Perhaps the biggest disappointment lay in the fact that the local school board could not function as the Tribe wished. BIA schools, being Federal Government schools, must abide by civil service regulations. Thus it was felt by school officials that the school board could not do the hiring and firing and the members were forced to play a lesser role than their interest and knowledge allowed.

The Navajo Tribe, OEO and BIA still felt, however, that the demonstration project warranted further opportunity to succeed. To provide the structure for a more flexible operation, a non-profit, private corporation of Navajo leaders was created for the purpose of receiving buildings and funds for the project. The group called itself DINE, Inc., the acronym for Demonstration in Navajo Education.

The Board of Directors for DINE is composed of three leading Navajos from the reservation. The president of the corporation is Allen D. Yazzie; the treasurer is Ned Hatathli, former Resources Director for the Navajo Tribe and presently Director of Education for the Navajo Irrigation Project; and Guy Gorman, secretary of the board, was former councilman and member of the Navajo Education Committee and is presently a member of the Public School Board at Chinle.

The BIA offered to turn over to DINE, Inc., a new $3 million school facility at Rough Rock, Arizona, located in one of the most remote and traditional areas of the Reservation. The school at Rough Rock had just been completed and had no staff; hence, all employees could be selected by the Navajo people without civil service restrictions. (The workers at Rough Rock are not civil service employees.)

The Board of Directors felt that any school to be maximally successful must have its roots in the community and be looked upon as a school belonging to the Navajo people.

In keeping with those sentiments, and realizing that control by Window Rock was not a great deal better than control by Washington, the Board of Directors held a series of meetings with the Rough Rock Community to ascertain, first if it wanted to have a demonstration school, and second, if it did, whether it wanted to elect a local school board to join it in its control and leadership.

After many discussions, the Rough Rock Community unanimously endorsed having the demonstration school and voted to select a five-member school board to provide direction and control. Officially the Rough Rock Demonstration School came into being July 1, 1966.

Later, in a very significant discussion, the school board enlarged its membership to seven to provide representation of areas from which the Rough Rock Demonstration School drew children but which previously had no representation.

During the first year at Rough Rock, the Bureau gave $307,000, which would have been the money allotted had the school been operated by BIA. OEO granted $329,000 for intensive experimentation and demonstration in the following ten areas:

(1) School-community relations and parental involvement
(2) Cultural identification
(3) Home and school visitation
(4) Language development and teaching English as a *second* language

(5) Navajo language learning
(6) In-service training and staff orientation
(7) Adult education
(8) Dormitory living
(9) Guidance and counseling
(10) Auxiliary services, such as evaluation, recreation, art, finances, social work and a school library.

During the second year (1967-68) at Rough Rock, the programs were sharpened and redefined by the School Board and the Board of Directors. Programs developed and/or initiated by the School Board during the first year became major thrusts in the second year. This included an expanded arts and crafts training program, a strengthened dormitory parent program, a home economics and shop program and a community health program. During the second year, the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided $346,000 while the Office of Economic Opportunity granted $447,000 to the Rough Rock Demonstration School. The funds have been used to carry out the program described in part later in this issue and also to educate 370 children and 250 regularly-scheduled adults.

In the past there have been three kinds of schools operating on the Navajo Reservation: (1) Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools, (2) public schools and (3) mission schools. Navajos call BIA schools "Wa'a'shindoon bi'olt'a," or "Washington's school." They call public schools "Bilaga'ana Yazzie bi'olt'a" or "little whiteman's school." Mission schools are "Eeneishoodi bi'olt'a" or the school of "those who drag their clothes," a name stemming from the first Catholic priests who came to the reservation.

A fourth kind of school has now appeared. It's a tribal school, controlled and operated by the local Navajo community at Rough Rock, Arizona. Its English name is Rough Rock Demonstration School. Navajos call it "Diné bi'olt'a," or the "Navajo's school." There are nearly one hundred schools located on the Navajo Reservation but only one is so honored. These words express more eloquently than anything the significance and sense of identification the Navajos attach to the Rough Rock Demonstration School.

Areas of Demonstration

Rough Rock Demonstration School is pioneering in Indian education in a variety of areas:

The Navajo people are directly and actively involved in the operation of the school.

The funds for the school have been assigned to the governing body, DINE, Inc., which is composed of an all-Navajo Board of Directors.

The policies of the school are established by an elected seven-member, all-Navajo school board and the Board of Directors. The policies and programs at Rough Rock are the result of action initiated by the Navajo people. The creation of the most successful programs lies with the community — *not* the professionals.

The school Board and the Board of Directors hold monthly joint meetings. These sessions allow the Board of Directors to keep current on the school and to share their ideas and suggestions at regularly scheduled intervals. In many other schools, school officials or other professional personnel establish policies and initiate activities, often without advising or gaining consent from the community.

The school board meets with the chapter (local government unit) to discuss school affairs and holds monthly school-community meetings to consider school matters and work out school-community projects and relations.

Parents from the community work in the dormitories on a rotating basis, living there for eight weeks and acting as foster parents and adult counselors to the boys and girls. Community elders visit the dormitories to tell stories and acquaint the youngsters with Navajo traditions, legends, and history.

Weekly day-long school board meetings are held which are attended by large numbers of community residents.

The role of the professional has been changed from one of control to one of assistance. If the community, through its school board, were to choose to do something which the professional thought unwise, the role of the professional would include discussion with the community to point out the possible consequences of such action and would include mapping alternate routes and their consequences. But if the community insisted on taking certain action, the professional would accept that decision and make every effort to make the choice a successful one. In other words, the professional is the servant, not the master. Democracy itself draws its strength and greatness from this conviction.

The school maintains close contact with the home and community.

Students are not only allowed but are encouraged to go home for weekend visits as often as possible. Transportation is provided in those cases where children otherwise would not be able to go home. The basic policy of the school is that the children belong to the parents and not the school.

Teachers visit the homes of their students several times a year. Accompanied by the child, the teacher goes to see the parents and to explain the school's program and the child's work.

Parents are urged to visit the school and classrooms at any time. On these visits the parents or community members are guests of the school and stay in the dormitory and eat in the cafeteria. Transportation is provided when necessary.

The cultural identification program makes Navajo culture a significant and integral part of the school program.

At Rough Rock, where a "both-and" approach is used, students are exposed to important values and customs of *both* Navajo culture *and* the dominant society. Sudents are not forced to make an "either-or" choice.

(A) There is instruction in the Navajo language. Both reading and writing Navajo are taught to all students. (B) Students are taught Navajo history in both the classrooms and the dormitories. (C) Formal instructional sessions with dormitory parents, as well as informal conversations, acquaint students with Navajo etiquette, Navajo beliefs, and Navajo lore. (D) Students may use, in fact are encouraged to use, their native Navajo language in the dormitory, in the dining hall, on the playground, and in the school.

A Navajo Curriculum Center has been established at the Rough Rock Demonstration School. The Center is funded in part by an Elementary and Secondary Education Act grant. The Center is responsible for producing a series of books for use in the intermediate grades dealing with such areas as Navajo biographies, history, legends, and modern problems and programs. A series of 18 books is being prepared which will be used not only at Rough Rock but at other locations both on and off the reservation.

The school provides in-service training to staff members.

Many Navajos who could not be employed at other schools, because they are not high school graduates or do not speak English, have been hired in various capacities such as dormitory aides, janitors, dormitory parents, kitchen aides, maintenance helpers, arts and crafts trainees and instructors. During the first year at Rough Rock, more than 40 Navajos were employed who never before had held permanent jobs.

Uneducated and inexperienced Navajo employees are given instruction in their jobs and in basic education while they are employed. An extensive adult education program has been designed to teach them English, home economics or shop, consumer education, baby care, first aid, and other areas in which they express interest. Employees are given the opportunity to take high school work or extension college courses at the school.

All employees attend a two-week orientation period before school opens in the fall. The orientation acquaints the staff with the history of the Navajo people, the philosophy and objectives of the school, and the unique features of Indian education.

The school provides meaningful adult education opportunities for community members.

The Demonstration School makes it possible for non-English speaking adults to learn new skills. (A) Instruction in the English language is offered to employees and community residents. (B) Adults may learn how to repair automobiles and trucks. (C) Instruction in home economics gives basic information in nutrition, food preparation, and in serving the women of the community.

(D) Woodworking and shop instruction makes it possible for the men to learn marketable skills and to learn to construct items needed in their homes. (E) Women in the community can learn to use the electric sewing machines in the dormitories and can use the machines to make and mend clothing for their families. (F) Adults receive driver education training on a pick-up truck donated for that purpose by a Gallup, New Mexico, automobile agency.

A toy factory was begun during the second year at Rough Rock which builds sturdy toys for use by primary children. In addition, the project constructs desks, tables, and chairs on order. The new program had during its first few months of operation $5,000 worth of orders. The toy project employs and trains local Navajos.

A variety of auxiliary services provides assistance to the community.

(A) Laundry facilities are available for community use. (B) Shower facilities can be used by community residents. (C) The recreation department plans activities for community residents. (D) The school library is open in the evening and on the weekends for use of staff members and community people. (E) Hay is purchased and sold at cost to community residents. (F) Special milk to feed lambs is sold at cost to livestock owners.

The school encourages community members to learn and become skilled in traditional Navajo arts and crafts.

Master Navajo craftsmen are employed to demonstrate and teach the arts and crafts of the Navajo people. Crafts being taught include: silversmithing, weaving, sash belt making, mocassin making, pottery making and basket making.

Interested adults of the community are invited to learn any of these crafts. In addition, Navajos from throughout the reservation are eligible to take part in the training if they wish. A select number of trainees are paid a small salary so that they can learn quality Navajo arts and crafts on a full-time basis. Examples of Navajo arts and crafts are displayed in the school.

During the first year, records kept on the graduates of the arts and crafts training program indicated that graduates more than doubled their income as a result of the training.

The school constantly attempts to provide and expand employment opportunities for community members.

The school's employment policies enable the school to broaden its economic role in the community. The Rough Rock Demonstration School is able to employ increased numbers of Navajo people through the School Board's action to eliminate educational requirements for many jobs and to reduce salaries correspondingly.

Many positions are filled on a rotating basis, thus giving job opportunities, experience, and income to many members of the community. Local people are hired as dormitory parents, laundry workers, arts and crafts trainees, etc. The entire institutional laundry needs of the Demonstration School are met through employing local people to operate a laundry at Rough Rock instead of contracting out to off-reservation commercial laundries as is done in all other schools on the Navajo reservation. During the summer of 1967, the school cafeteria operated as a cafe, thereby employing additional local people as waitresses, cooks, etc.

During the first year, over 60 percent of the adult community derived some direct benefit from the school. The figure for the second year will be even higher, probably approaching 75 percent.

The school serves as a resource for many other agencies.

ONEO Arts and Crafts program (a component of the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity, the reservation Community Action Program) has used the facilities and staff of the Rough Rock school to give additional training to ONEO craft instructors.

The Advisory Board of the ONEO Navajo Culture Component meets at Rough Rock frequently. ("We like to meet where people are proud of being Navajo," said one elder.) This group also cooperates with the Rough Rock Navajo Curriculum Center, exchanging and coordinating information.

The school cooperates with the U. S. Public Health Service in a demonstration in community health. During the second year, a community health committee was elected, which meets weekly with Public Health officials in coordinating and improving health in the Rough Rock community. An important area of demonstration the second year at Rough Rock was in health, with the USPHS expending maximum interest and resources.

The school provides housing for the Navajo Police personnel assigned to the community.

Head Start training sessions have been held at Rough Rock which included teachers and teacher-aides from the entire Southwest.

The school initiated a pilot program in Navajo mental health designed to continue and develop Navajo methods of psychotherapy. A larger program is pending approval in Washington.

Conferences at the school (sponsored by the school and/or by tribal groups) enable individuals and groups to discuss common problems in Indian affairs and share ideas and information.

Innovation and experimentation in the classroom is cultivated and encouraged.

Teaching English as a second language is a program stressed at the Demonstration School and specialists are on hand to provide leadership to the project. Various organizational structures are tried in an effort to determine the most effective plan in terms of more nearly meeting the individual needs of the children. Specialists in a variety of areas are on the staff to provide leadership in physical education, art, music, reading, speech therapy, etc.

Future of the Rough Rock Demonstration School

The Rough Rock Demonstration School has taken yet another significant step in demonstration in Indian education. This is the decision by the School Board and Board of Directors to appoint Dillon Platero as the new director, effective July, 1969. Platero, formerly chairman of the Navajo Education Committee, was the deputy director at Rough Rock for the preceding year and a half. By appointing him to the position of director, the Navajo people have taken the final step in achieving control and direction over their own education.

With 15,000 visitors during Rough Rock's first 22 months of operation, anonymity is not a problem. However, the future of Rough Rock lies in a very real way upon forces outside the control of the Rough Rock community or even the Navajo people.

The President's message to Congress on Indian affairs included the very ingredients which are presently in operation so successfully at Rough Rock. In addition to requesting maximum Indian involvement in education, the President requested the establishment of model community schools. Surely, Rough Rock is such a model. The future direction of Indian education is intimately related to the future of the Rough Rock Demonstration School.

If the Bureau of Indian Affairs and public school systems believe the answers to problems facing Indians in the field of education lie in "more of the same," and if they believe that the solution to these problems rest primarily in more money, the significance of Rough Rock will have been lost. Unfortunately, there are many signs today that many people in high places in Indian education are of the opinion that Indian education can best be improved through more efficient centralized administration combined with more money placed in the hands of professional educators.

On the other hand, if the BIA and public school systems finally recognize the problems affecting Indians in schools demand not more of the same, but a radical new departure and new approach, then Rough Rock stands vindicated and its significance will never be lost. In a very real way, the significance of Rough Rock is based on two factors: First, control of Indian education by Indian people, and second, the incorporation into the school curriculum of positive elements of Indian life and culture.

Should the agencies and individuals having responsibilities for Indian education realize that Indian people must control and direct their education, and should the Congress of the United States see fit to act upon the President's message on Indians and provide funds to carry out the suggested programs, then certainly Rough Rock's future ought to be assured by becoming perhaps the first "Model Community School."

As newness wears off, one of two things is likely to happen at Rough Rock. First, the school through its independence and firm convictions may antagonize or alienate the entrenched power structures in Indian education or, second, the school may lose its direction and sense of purpose and revert back to an "8 to 5—don't rock the boat" type of operation. It is hoped that Rough Rock will be allowed to choose a path which will let it continue to project and innovate.

The degree to which the Bureau of Indian Affairs will adopt and incorporate the successful findings of Rough Rock Demonstration School is as yet an unknown factor. Should the Bureau, for whatever reason, see fit not to effect changes based on the Rough Rock experience, then it would have forfeited its position of responsibility to Indian education and to Indian people. The former Assistant Commissioner of Education for the BIA, Dr. Carl Marberger, was vitally aware of the importance and significance of the Rough Rock Demonstration School. Based on projects developed at the school, Dr. Marberger was effecting changes and making recommendations. Mr. Charles Zellers, newly appointed to this position, has not revealed by his actions his feelings concerning Rough Rock and its programs.

The time has long since passed when Indian people will be content to allow officials in Washington or anywhere else to make decisions affecting the future of their children and the future of their communities. The words of an old World War I song are appropriate in amply highlighting the impact of Rough Rock on Indian people: "How can you keep them down on the farm after they have seen gay Paree."

In other words, after Indian people have seen what has been accomplished by so-called uneducated Indians at Rough Rock in a backward and primitive community, how can you keep them from demanding and assuming the control of their future and of their education. Times have changed and Rough Rock reflects this change. It is now up to professionals and agencies having responsibilities in the field of Indian education to recognize and respect that change.

Significance

The Rough Rock Demonstration School has shown what is possible when Indian people, with limited or no formal education, are given an opportunity to direct and control their own education. No longer will it be possible for people to sit back and say: "The Indians aren't ready yet." Rough Rock has conclusively shown that Indians are ready to exercise leadership in affairs affecting them if only given the chance.

At Rough Rock the School Board and the community now enjoy a right long enjoyed by other Americans, but which in the past has been effectively denied the American Indian: this is the *right to be wrong.* The Rough Rock community has accepted the responsibility and the challenge of thinking for itself and developing its own educational programs.

Bear in mind this is being done through a locally elected, all-Navajo School Board, which has less than five years of formal education total among its seven members. The School Board is the group that has displayed imagination, creativeness, leadership, and understanding in developing and implementing educational programs for the entire community. This is the group of men who are truly recreating Indian education and Indian affairs.

The significance of the Rough Rock Demonstration School lies far beyond Indian education. The greatness and strength of this nation was derived from the involvement of its citizens and from placing in their hands the nation's future.

In a day and age in which the average American plays an ever decreasing role in decision making, and in which each person's part in providing control and leadership in public education is at an all time low, Rough Rock stands as a light in the night with an unmistakable message. This small, isolated school is drawing attention, from all portions of this country, to the principles on which this nation was founded. Rough Rock has been visited by literally thousands of other Americans interested in rediscovering the ways whereby a community, regardless of its educational level and experience, accepts the responsibility and succeeds in directing and controlling the education of its children.

Democracy has always been based on the involvement and the acceptance of responsibility by all citizens, regardless of education and experience. In a democracy, the trained professionals and the skilled experts are the servants, not the masters. Surely these kinds of people are needed and have contributed greatly to the growth of the United States. But their most significant contributions have been, and must continue to be, if democracy is to be both effective and strong, in the areas of pointing out alternatives, making recommendations, and providing answers to questions, not in dictating decisions through an aristocracy of the elite. Rough Rock proves conclusively that Indian people have the interest and ability to direct and control their education.

Rough Rock proves that American public education can be controlled by the people it serves and that an effective partnership can be established between the professionals and the people—with control and leadership residing with the people.

* * *

Miracle Hill

By Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell
(Navajo)

I stand upon my miracle hill,
Wondering of the yonder distance,
Thinking, When will I reach there?

I stand upon my miracle hill.
The wind whispers in my ear.
I hear the songs of old ones.

I stand upon my miracle hill;
My loneliness I wrap around me.
It is my striped blanket.

I stand upon my miracle hill
And send out touching wishes
To the world beyond hand's reach.

I stand upon my miracle hill.
The bluebird that flies above
Leads me to my friend, the white man.

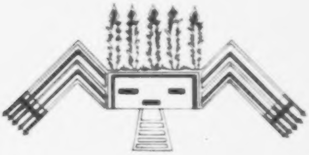
I come again to my miracle hill.
At last, I know the all of me—
Out there, beyond, and here upon my hill.

A Study of the Many Farms Science Project

American Indian Ethno-science

Albert J. Snow

Vol. 12, No. 1



The focus of attention at the Many Farms science program is on the needs of the students and their Navajo community. The Navajo's aspiration of being one in harmony with his environment makes his culture philosophically naturalistic — therefore unique. This desire to conform to a more natural relationship with nature is somewhat correspondent to the non-Indians' desire to use scientific and technical approaches to solve the problems of his environment. With this consideration of culture as a driving force, rather than a specific objective, the science program at Many Farms departs from the modern-traditional, and usually successful, science programs of non-Indian society (BSCS, IME, IMB, IPS, etc.) and injects Indian materials and culture as a vehicle for learning.

The student is the center of activity with the boundaries of the classroom extending to the very limits of the 25,000 square miles of Navajo Reservation area. Group and individual projects are encouraged; this further expands the time and space constraints of the science class setting.

Ethno-science has developed at Many Farms High School over a period of time. Ethno-science is largely the idea of one man, Carl Hime, supervising teacher for science and math at Many Farms High School, Many Farms, Arizona. The fortunate blend of enthusiasm, concern and attitude of the science and math teaching staff assured the successful introduction of the Ethno-science concepts.

Ethno-science Defined

It is possible to attach many labels to Ethno-science. At Many Farms it is considered to be American Indian technology blended with myth and the past and present life experience of the American Indian. The emphasis in introducing Ethno-science at Many Farms is on the life and ecological-environmental aspect of science.

Teacher attitude is all important in any ethno-related course and the teacher must be extremely sensitive to the feelings of the student and community in all topics of study. Gene Gade, outdoor and environmental teacher at Many Farms, conveys this attitude and concern about Ethno-science.

"First of all, when I use an idea from Navajo culture, as in a traditional story, I would like to be sure that the idea or story is related with as little distortion as possible. I have been told by more than one Navajo that perhaps it would be better for Anglos to leave Navajo culture teaching to the Navajos because often Anglo versions of the culture are not accurate. The source of the inaccuracy might be inadvertent, resulting from poor translation, the omission of a detail which may seem insignificant to a non-Navajo, or from a tendency that we have to read the sweeping generalizations of an anthropologist and then pass these on as some sort of gospel judgment about Navajos.

"My experience is that nearly everything (and especially the old stories which use a special and somewhat archaic Navajo vocabulary) suffers from translation. Also, because the traditional culture has been conveyed for generations by word of mouth, Navajos pay great attention to detail and are often incensed by seemingly minor embellishments or omissions. Finally, I think that we should be quite careful in using anthropological generalizations. Even when they are sound, such generalizations are often an attempt to articulate some ideas which are not articulated by the people themselves.

"The second major idea that I would like to advance here is that we need to be careful not to force our will or world view too much. There are places where Navajo culture blends with and complements my science teaching. There are other places where very direct conflict exists. My attitude is that there are many ways of explaining things. There are different ways of looking at the world. I will not set up Navajo culture as a straw man and then knock it down with scientific explanations. I will present it straight. I may regard some of it as useful allegory, other parts of it as useful mainly for its poetic beauty, but I have no more interest in debating the traditional Navajo culture with a Navajo than I have in debating the literal truth of Genesis I. They are both beautiful and worthy of preservation, whether or not they meet my standards of scientific accuracy."

This statement essentially reflects the thinking and attitude of the staff at Many Farms High School. It is especially significant to underline the concern shown over the possibility of diminishing or actually destroying Navajo culture in order to enhance non-Indian methods or thinking.

Origins of Ethno-science at Many Farms

No one can say for sure where Ethno-science was first considered within the context of curriculum improvement and development. Other educators have probably used Indian technology, medicine and botany in science courses. The idea of Ethno-science began to evolve with Carl

Hime as a result of student interest in such things as the ecology of Black Mesa[1], microbiology of the hogan and corral, etc. The interest was enthusiastically reflected by the staff and each year more areas for projects and research were added. The concept of Ethno-science is considered to be in the infancy stage of growth, but through interaction of student, teacher and community it is indeed expanding and growing. It is interesting to note that Ethno-science fills a need for the student and the Navajo community. It tends to develop healthy self-concept for the Indian student since he sees himself and his culture in a useful, beautiful and important perspective. Most of the students at Many Farms High School will remain on the reservation after graduation and it is important that they feel one in harmony with their land.

Attitudes Toward Ethno-science

In general a strong, positive attitude exists towards Ethno-science, although a few students want no part of any studies, projects or topics relating to the Navajo and his environs. Several possible explanations have been proposed by the staff with respect to this negative attitude. It is the feeling that some students consider it more important to study the white man's ways and that an "inferiority complex" has crept into their (the students') thinking. However, this attitude is shared by but a few of the students. Their parents and the school board heartily endorse Ethno-science topics.

Basic Goals

The long term basic goals of Ethno-science as seen by Carl Hime are: to fit the needs of the community by giving a better understanding of the environment of the reservation, to contribute to the ongoing development of Navajos both economically and socially and finally to contribute to the Navajo's self-concept and image. The philosophy and specific goal of the science department of the high school are as follows:

1. Understand and appreciate the natural environment in which they live.
2. Understand the influence of environment upon culture.
3. Understand the influence of culture upon the environment.
4. Become informed consumers and producers in their natural environment.
5. Learn how natural resources have been harnessed for the benefit of mankind.
6. Acquire knowledge, skill and the desire to conserve natural resources.
7. Understand that the philosophy of man is integrated with science.
8. Understand and appreciate their complex technological environment and be able to discriminate its sources.

9. Recognize the social and moral responsibility involved in scientific processes.
10. Understand and be able to use the methods of science, the techniques of experimentation, and the rationale of proof.
11. Learn of the structure and materials of the physical world and the energy relationships that exist therein.
12. Understand and appreciate the influence of science upon daily living and be able to use important scientific facts concerning the nature of the world and man.
13. Reduce their anxieties and fears.
14. Be scientifically literate as a non-scientist.
15. Develop skills and knowledge such that they can be successful when they seek further training for the world of work.[2]

The Students and Projects

One of the most impressive studies done by both students and teachers is the Black Mesa study titled: "Environmental and Economic Issue: the Strip Mining on Black Mesa and the Coal Burning Power Plants in the Southwest." This study is an in-depth view of the history, geology, politics and environmental aspects of the Black Mesa area. It attempts to give a balanced view of all the factors, both true and untrue, that have arisen due to this controversy.

Among the individual student research projects, Cyrus Ketchum studied the plant growth characteristics in the Black Mesa coal mining area. His study was designed to discover the effect of the mining operations on plant growth. Adella Begaye was fascinated with eye shapes of Anglo and Navajo people. She charted the shapes, responses and characteristics of eyes. Harry Chee wished to find out how well dog saliva inhibited bacterial growth. Shirley Bizahkonie charted blood types and factors in Indians and non-Indians in the Many Farms area. These are but a few of the many possible student research topics.

Implementation

There is no formal course in Ethno-science at Many Farms. What has been done is to use, wherever possible, ethno-related topics in the science classes. This means that, whatever the science taught, (IME, BSCS, IMB, environmental and outdoor education, etc.), Navajo materials and attitudes will be used both in lab and in class discussion. Projects and independent studies are all geared to ethno-topics and ethno-materials. Ethno-science is a "hands on" approach.

One interesting finding has been that displays of Indian art and artifacts in the classroom tend to inhibit student growth and motivation. This is because the Indian feels he and his culture are on display and possibly up for ridicule. Working with the Indian materials as part of the class does not have this effect; in fact, for the touch-oriented culture of the Navajo, a positive effect has been noted.

Topics and Projects

The following is a partial list of projects and activities that can and are being used in all science classes on all levels:

Using vegetable dyes as pH indicators and stains
Studying distribution of *E. coli* in Navajo camp
Mordant characteristics
Vegetable dye as bacteria inhibiting
Blood types and disease resistance characteristics
Alkaloid content of various native plants
Albino gene distribution in Navajo population
Prevalence of characteristic birth defects
Ecology of the dump pit
Ecology of the hogan
Soil studies
Environmental studies
Chemistry of pot making, dyeing, Navajo medicine, changing environment[3]

Conclusions

Ethno-science is only beginning at Many Farms. The science staff is hoping that an interdisciplinary approach will be taken that will involve many departments — social science, art, English, etc. Teachers at Many Farms are learning from their students and this experience is both pleasant and stimulating. The strong healthy interaction between student and teacher has long been the basis for a good learning atmosphere at Many Farms.

A start has been made that will, hopefully, be an encouraging model for other Indian schools to follow. The atmosphere at Many Farms is contagious — it is beginning to have impact on the Navajo community around Many Farms. This impact is making many Indians aware of their environment and its value to them and to the larger community of the Navajo.

* * *

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[2] Hime, Carl. Unpublished document, Many Farms High School, January 18, 1972.

[3] Hime, *op cit.*

Project Awareness:

Minnesota Encourages the Chippewa Indians

Matthew Stark

Vol. 6, No. 3

During the past three years, a group of University of Minnesota students and I have been involved in a summer program with the Chippewa Indians on the White Earth Indian Reservation in northern Minnesota.[1] This summer program is called Project Awareness. The name came from the desire of an earlier group of college students from the University of Minnesota, Mount Holyoke College, and Carleton College to become more aware of their Indian fellow citizens by devoting the summer to providing recreational activities for Indian youngsters. This initial Project Awareness program encountered a number of difficulties in 1962 and was inoperative during the second year.[2]

In the fall of 1963, a few University of Minnesota student leaders and I reorganized the Project Awareness program.[3] For eight weeks during the summer of 1964, 16 University students lived in two Indian communities on the reservation and conducted recreational and leisure-time reading programs for Indian youngsters.[4] As a result of that summer program, extensive modifications were made during the academic year 1964-65 for the 1965 summer program. These included de-emphasizing recreational activities and adding new areas of educational emphasis to the summer program.

Eleven University students participated in the eight-week Project Awareness program during the summer of 1965 at Pine Point on the reservation. During that summer, and soon thereafter, minor revisions were made in the goals of the project. The goals established and used during the summers of 1965 and 1966 are:

a. To provide Indian elementary school students with special remedial assistance in English, arithmetic, and reading.

b. To provide Indian high school students with study help assistance in all areas of the academic course work in which they participated during the past school year.

c. To assist Indian youngsters in learning more about post high school educational and vocational training at institutions.

d. To assist Indian youngsters in their articulation to post high school educational and vocational training institutions.

e. To help expand Indian youngsters' perceptions of the world of work and to familiarize them with methods of entry into various occupations

f. To stimulate Indian youngsters in the attainment of attitudes and motivation which will lead them to continue in high school until graduation.

g. To help Indian youngsters develop plans for post high school academic and vocational training, which will lead to their obtaining satisfactory positions of education or employment.

h. To develop community libraries under the auspices of citizen library committees which can be used by Indian youngsters and adults throughout the year.

i. To develop an Indian teen-age center under the auspices of an adult and teen-ager committee which can be used by Indian youngsters during the year.

j. To develop a children's theater which can be used to assist Indian youngsters in gaining self-confidence in public expression and social interaction.

k. To help Indian youngsters gain a better understanding of and appreciation for their cultural heritage.

l. To familiarize Indian youngsters and University students with one another so that continued relationships and communication will prevail as a source of stimulation and encouragement, as well as comfortableness, on the part of Indian youngsters to participate as fully as they wish in non-Indian society.

The methodology of attaining the above goals was by University students:

a. Conducting daily review classes in English, reading, and arithmetic with the students enrolled in the Pine Point Elementary School.

b. Reviewing with Indian high school students on a one-to-one basis course work which they had had difficulty with during the immediately preceding year.

c. Leading vocational exploration field trips for Indian elementary and high school students to business establishments on and in the counties contiguous with the White Earth Indian Reservation.

d. Holding information classes on entrance requirements of post high school vocational training institutions and colleges and matters related to and preparing for entry into various occupations.

e. Showing occupational information films to audiences of elementary and high school students.

f. Forming an adult citizens library committee, securing books for a community library, purchasing and preparing a building for use as a library and a study hall for use by youngsters and adults throughout the years.

g. Forming an adult citizens teen-age center committee, securing equipment for such a center, purchasing and preparing a building for use as a center to be used by youngsters and adults throughout the year.

h. Initiating a children's theater company and performing plays during the summer months.

i. Conducting cultural enrichment and vocational exploration field trips for Indian elementary and high school students to business establishments, vocational and educational post high school training institutions and places of cultural interest in Minneapolis and St. Paul during the Thanksgiving, Christmas, and spring vacation periods.

In close cooperation with the White Earth Indian Reservation Tribal Council, the local public school board at the Pine Point community on the reservation, and with the elementary school principal's advice and supervision, University students were trained during the spring of 1965 by University faculty members.

These 11 students conducted daily, voluntary review and enrichment classes in arithmetic, English, history, and geography for the 100 Indian elementary school students from June 20 to August 14, 1965, at Pine Point. Special study-help sessions for high school students were conducted on an individual basis between the University students and Indian high school students during this period.

Plans were made, and after extensive consultation with a member of the University Library School, books were collected and brought to Pine Point. A local Indian Library Committee was established by the University students, and working together during the summer, a building was purchased and moved onto tribal land and converted into a library. The 2,500 books which had been collected were arranged and cataloged by Indian high school students working with the University students.

A University student skilled in theater arts initiated a children's summer theater and directed the presentation of several one-act plays. Insufficient funds were available to develop a teen-age center.

The Project Awareness program began educational activities at an additional Indian community on the reservation during the summer of

1966 and supplied library books to a "community hall" in a third Indian center, in addition to a full eight-week program at Pine Point. Eighteen University students participated during the summer of 1966.

In summer 1965, 17 vocational information trips were made with numerous Indian elementary and high school students participating. In 1966, daily vocational field trips were conducted during the eight-week summer period by University students as part of the project. Thirty educational and vocational information films were shown in 1965 and in 1966 two evenings a week were devoted to such films. Packets of occupational information and vocational school and college bulletins were reviewed by Indian teen-agers with help from the University students. During the summer of 1965, trips to such places of business as the following were made: Badoura Pine Seed Extracting plant and nursery, St. Joseph's Hospital, Chevrolet garage, North Star Dairy, Citizens State Bank, Becker County Courthouse, State Highway Department, Detroit Lakes *Tribune* newspaper, Becker County Library, Itasca State Park, Fargo-Detroit Bottling Co., KDLM radio station, Tamarac Wildlife Refuge, White Earth Health Clinic, and the Detroit Lakes Animal Hospital.

Films shown in 1965 included those on: health careers, the chocolate industry, choosing a career, the steel industry, airlines stewardess work, and bread baking. Other films were of more general educational interest. The "White Wilderness" was a natural history movie. Of historical interest were films on Sir Winston Churchill and Ghandi. Movies on Minneapolis and St. Paul helped to familiarize the students with these urban centers.

A University student majoring in anthropology conducted a special series of evening programs on Chippewa history and culture in 1965. A similar program was provided as a part of the Project Awareness program this past summer. Films giving the audience an historical perspective on pre- and post-Columbian Indians were shown. A lecture was presented on the Indian's probable origin in Asia, his migrations to and about this country, and his adaptation to various sections of the United States. Films and talks were given on non-Chippewa Indians and their adaptation and life in an environment different from that of the Chippewa. Movies on the history and migration of the Chippewa, and about wild ricing were shown and discussed. A lecture on the highly organized Red Lake Indian Reservation was the final program.

A group of Indian youngsters who needed assistance were invited to participate in a public-speaking group conducted by two University students last summer.

During 1965-66, a beginning was made on another dimension of Project Awareness. Six Indian elementary and high school students from the Pine Point community were participants in a Project Awareness urban-tour program to Minneapolis and St. Paul during the four-day

Thanksgiving vacation period. The specific goals and methods of this program are listed below.

GOALS	METHODS
1. To expand and develop the Indian students' perceptions of the world of work and their possible roles in it.	a) By carefully planned visits to businesses and industries in the Twin Cities which have been specifically chosen to enable the students to observe and learn about a wide variety of jobs and professions. b) By organized meetings with businesses and industry officials who will talk with the students about the jobs they have observed and about the qualifications and training required for these jobs.
2. To acquaint the Indian students with the opportunities which exist in the field of post high school education and vocational training.	a) By tours of colleges in the Twin Cities. b) By interviews with college officials about college life, procedures and requirements for admission, and scholarship opportunities. c) By visits to trade and technical schools in the Twin Cities. d) By talks with trade school officials about facilities of their schools, courses of training available, and entrance costs and requirements.
3. To familiarize the Indian students.	a) By visiting with the University students in their homes and participating in some of the activities of their families (*e.g.*, eating dinner with the family.) b) By participating in some urban life activities (*e.g.*, attending a play or concert, visiting an art museum, shopping downtown, eating in a restaurant.) c) By continuing a close relationship and informal discussions with the University students who lived at Pine Point during the past summer. d) By attending different churches' religious services.

4. To maintain the rapport developed during the summer between Indian students and University students, and to further develop these positive, personal relationships.	a) By participating in the activities of the weekend, with University students in the role of companions to the Indian youngsters as well as advisers. b) By visiting with the University students in their Twin City homes.

Eleven Indian elementary school students spent four days in Minneapolis and St. Paul in company with half a dozen University students in a second urban-tour program during the Spring vacation period. The Indian youngsters visited the following places during the two trips: the University of Minnesota, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, the Bell Telephone Company, the Minneapolis City Hall, the Minneapolis *Star-Tribune* newspaper offices and plant, B'nai Abraham Synagogue, Donaldson's Department Store, the Minneapolis Public Library and planetarium, the International Airport, a production at the Theater St. Paul, the Minneapolis Grain Exchange, Dunwoody Vocational Institute, St. Mary's Hospital and Junior College, General Mills administrative and research facilities, the Ford Motor Company's St. Paul assembly plant, University of Minnesota School of Forestry, Dayton's (department store) personnel and training department, Paper-Calmenson steel mill, Rasmussen School of Business, St. Paul Post Office, St. Paul Train Depot, St. Paul City Hall, the Arts and Science Museum of St. Paul, and the Minneapolis-Mississippi river locks.

Early plans to carry out research projects to determine the effectiveness of Project Awareness in the following had to be dropped because of lack of adequate funds:

1. Reducing the number of Indian youngsters who drop out of high school prior to graduation.
2. Decreasing the number of days of absence of Indian youngsters from elementary and secondary school.
3. Increasing the Indian youngsters' test scores of achievement in all academic fields in elementary and secondary school.
4. Increasing the number of Indian youngsters who enroll in post high school educational and vocational training institutes.
5. Raising the level and range of occupational aspiration of Indian youngsters.
6. Decreasing the number of Indian youngsters who become "juvenile delinquents."

Summary

During the past three summers, University of Minnesota students have been participating in a special program on the White Earth Indian

Reservation.* This program, the American Indian Educational and Cultural Enrichment and Vocational Motivation Project of the University, has involved about 15 University students each summer. These students live in teacherages at Pine Point** and work in the local elementary school and conduct voluntary classes in the basic educational skills for American Indian youngsters. Vocational field trips designed to stimulate occupational interest and motivation to complete high school are part of the eight-week program. Use of a library and leisure-time reading are stressed. Public speaking sessions are held to assist Indian youngsters. On a one-to-one basis, Indian high school students have University students available to help them go over subjects in which they did not do well during the past year. Special sessions on Indian history and culture involving movies and talks are conducted by the University students to give the Indian youngsters a firmer understanding and appreciation of their background. During the school year, Indian youngsters from Pine Point visit in the Twin Cities as a part of the Project Awareness vocational motivation emphasis.

During the school year, those University students who have participated in the summer program show slides and give talks on their summer work and on the Indian in Minnesota to students and community audiences. These programs help in the education of the non-Indian community to their fellow Minnesotans: American Indians. All of these programs have had the full support and encouragement of the Tribal Council, the Indian parents and youngsters, the local school board (composed of Indians elected to the boards), the elementary school principals, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Minnesota State Department of Education. The University, through the Office of the Dean of Students, plans to continue Project Awareness: Indian Educational and Cultural Enrichment and Vocational Motivation program.

References

[1] Although a vast majority of the adults and youngsters were of Indian ancestry, non-Indians in the communities involved were full participants in these programs, too.

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[3] Stark, Matthew. *First Annual Report, 1963-64, Human Relations Programs* ODS Staff Paper No. 15, Office of the Dean of Students, University of Minnesota, November, 1964. 16 pp.

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*Approximately 2,500 Indians live on this reservation.

**Approximately 500 Indians live in Pine Point.

[4] Stark, Matthew, Falk, Marvin, and Raynolds, Virginia. *Project Awareness.* Minnesota Student Association — Office of the Dean of Students, University of Minnesota, March 3, 1965, Mimeographed, 22 pp.

[5] Stark, Matthew and Paskewitz, Daniel. *Project Awareness, 1965: University-American Indian Educational & Cultural Enrichment & Vocational Motivation Project.* Minnesota Student Association — Office of the Dean of Students, University of Minnesota, November, 1965, Mimeographed, 24 pp.

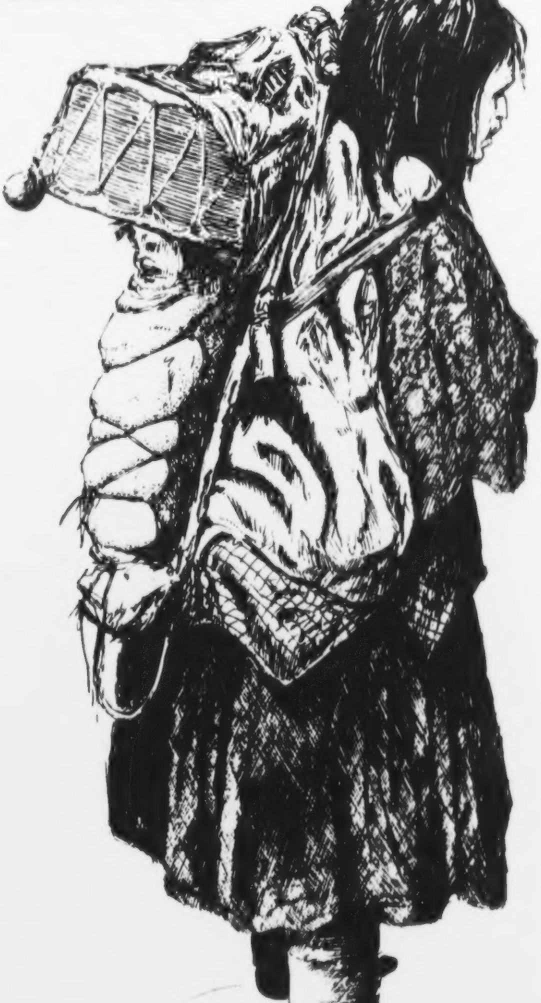
Snake Dance of the Hopi

SACRED
is the
eater
of the
eaters
of the
sacred
corn.
Guardian
of the
field
eat well.
Swell
with a
destroyer
so Hopi
shall
eat the
golden
grain
Destroy the
destroyers
and we,
the people
of peace,
shall
d-
a-
n-
c-
e.

Truett L. Hilliard

Part II

CULTURE AND HISTORY



Presenting the 'Con'-troversial Side:

Culture Materials in Schools' Programs for Indian Students

Stephen L. Bayne
Vol. 9, No. 1

More than 30 years ago, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier recommended that American Indian culture, history, languages and arts be included in the curriculum of schools for Indian children. With the single exception of the Santa Fe Institute of American Indian Arts, Collier's ideas were ignored by federal and public schools until the initiation of the Rough Rock experiment in 1965.

Now, thanks to Rough Rock and to current demands for "Third World" curricula in colleges and universities, Collier's original recommendations are being implemented in schools for Indian children and in programs of higher education. As Indian arts, oral literature, languages, and culture history become materials for curricula in more and more schools, it becomes increasingly important to understand what these materials can and cannot accomplish.

Much of the rhetoric (including Collier's own) in favor of including Indian culture material in the curriculum has been characterized by a belief that this will somehow preserve the native cultures and their values, or will enable Indian children to integrate into their lives the "best of both worlds." Unfortunately for those who see in the native American cultures possible alternatives to the competitive values of urban America, it is not felt by the author that this belief is justified. There are two major reasons for this pessimism.

1. The *form* of an education system as well as the content is a vehicle for perpetuating the values of the culture operating the system. Mere inclusion of Indian culture materials in the *content* of curricula for American Indian children without radical alteration of the form of the education process seriously perverts the meaning of the materials from their meaning within the native culture. Specifically, education in our schools is compartmentalized and formal, whereas the form of education in the native American cultures was neither.

One of the most important reasons for this difference, one which additionally points out a tremendous difference in the nature of human experience between urban American and American Indian cultures, involves the "job," which is of utmost importance in the life of modern Americans, but was nonexistent in the cultures of native America.

We may define the "job" as a well-separated compartment of life experience in which a person performs tasks in return for which he receives money to buy the necessities and comforts of life. In modern America it is also one of the primary components of personal identity and social rank. In the native American cultures, however, life maintenance tasks (which we might ordinarily think of as jobs) were so intermeshed with social life, sexual identity, religious experiences and family relationships that the "job" as a separate life compartment simply *did not exist.* An Indian would find it ridiculous to identify himself by job (such as farmer, hunter, or hide tanner) for this would be as self-evident as his identification as a man or woman, and would be an inseparable component of that identification.

Thus education for the Indian child meant learning to be a good *man* or *woman* rather than learning to be a worker at any specific trade or profession. This was accomplished through everyday interactions with adults, and through religion and oral tradition. Life maintenance skills associated with manhood and womanhood were taught at a pace *initiated by the child.* There was no need for hurry. The child was considered and treated as an independent human being, and was given the latitude to become an adult through his own efforts and volition.

In modern America, however, the *form* of education is radically different. The learning process must be accelerated in order to inculcate the complex skills and attitudes required by the job life, skills and attitudes which are quite separate from the child's learning to become a good man or woman. There is little time available to respect or even acknowledge the child's unique interests, preferred learning rate, or personal autonomy. He is treated, rather, as an object to be manipulated by adults until he acquiesces to *treatment as an object* —his lot for the duration of his job life.

This is not an overly cynical evaluation. The job, by definition, is task-oriented rather than human-oriented. The worker, whether a manual laborer or a college professor, must be disciplined to accept the order and rhythms of the job, because the job is not going to change significantly merely to suit his preferences and personal style. The human being is of secondary importance, and *that* is what our education transmits through formal, compartmentalized structures, discipline, and the breaking of individual preferred rhythms of learning and creativity.

Considering this tremendous difference in the two *forms* of education, I see no chance whatever that American schools can or will preserve the holistic values of American Indian cultures simply by including myths, arts and languages in the curriculum. Our school education, by its very structure, systematically inculcates job values, *not* those of American Indian cultures.

The Kinship Community

2. Myths, legends, arts and crafts, and language are only a small part of a people's culture. Unfortunately, most Americans hold the romantic notion that these aspects of American Indian culture are synonymous with the totality of Indian culture. These are the parts of culture referred to when educators speak of "the best of Indian life." Thus the most colorful and easily identifiable aspects of the native American cultures are taught in the schools, rather than any deeper foundations.

Specifically, the schools cannot and will not transmit the interaction patterns of the *kinship community* which forms the basis of Indian life on the reservations and in the cities. Since the schools cannot do this, it is the writer's opinion that their cultural curricula will be irrelevant in the preservation of Indian culture or in providing a real cultural identity for Indian children.

This opinion is maintained because it appears that the experience of growing up in an Indian kinship community is the single factor which makes Indians significantly different from other people in the United States today, and thus the factor which must be preserved if Indian culture is to survive. Growing up and living with a community of people who share a distinctive interaction style, and who are treated essentially as non-Indians treat close relatives, results in the formation of an adult personality which is uniquely *Indian*. This was true in the pre-reservation kinship bands, and is still true both on the reservations and in urban relocation areas today.

Thus the source of a child's Indian identity will always rest in his *community*, and will be destroyed when that community ceases to function, and when Indian children are brought up in communities and homes which do not differ from those of non-Indian America. The inclusion of the so-called "best of Indian culture" in the school curriculum will have no significant effect on this process.* When the kin communities die, then Indian culture as a unique, living alternative to the American mainstream will die no matter how many legends are learned in school by children of Indian descent.

Integration of Materials and Methods

This is not to say, however, that Indian culture materials have no place in federal and public schools for Indian children. Even though their inclusion in the curriculum is inadequate to perpetuate native cultural values, and even though they are incapable of inculcating "the best of both worlds," the materials can accomplish very important goals, of which I would select the following as especially important:

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* We can see this exemplified by the urban Irish in the United States, who maintain a strong ethnic idenity through a unique family and community life while remaining generally ignorant of Gaelic, Irish legends, and indigenous Irish arts and crafts.

1. The school, in Indian communities, represents the status and official power of the white world, as well as the purveyor of important knowledge necessary to succeed in that world. By including Indian culture materials in its curriculum, the school lends its dignity and official sanction to Indian culture, which it persistently denigrated or refused to recognize in the past. This may be extremely important in combating the feelings of self-deprecation, worthlessness and shame many children of minority cultures hold when they internalize the majority culture's prejudices. Hopefully a generation of children who have had their culture respected by the schools will develop the *self* respect which will enable them to successfully cope with modern America.

2. The inclusion of Indian culture materials in the curriculum provides excellent-in-service training for teachers, who must become knowledgeable about their pupils' native culture in order to teach its history and traditions. Hopefully, the teacher will come to respect the Indian culture as a viable alternative to his own. Though the teacher will not be able to teach his pupils their own culture (they are actually *living* it), he will, through enhanced awareness of his pupils' cultural background, become a more effective and sensitive teacher of his own modern American culture, and refrain from denigrating those aspects of his pupils' native culture he would ordinarily not understand.

3. Educators of Indian children are now realizing that the complete separation of the school from the Indian community is the source of many of their problems. The school, to the Indian community, has always been "their" school, the white man's school, a place where Indian parents feel confused, uncomfortable, and often unwelcome. Having had, in most cases, only a few years of formal education themselves, they fail to understand the nature and purpose of modern curriculum, and are not prepared to reinforce classroom experiences in the home. Thus a wide gap develops between home and school worlds, exacerbated by misunderstanding and suspicion on both sides.

When the school introduces Indian culture materials, a number of things may happen to bring the school and community together. Teachers, as mentioned before, may become more understanding and tolerant of the values and life style of the Indian community. Parents may become less suspicious of a school which respects their tribal background, and thus may feel more comfortable about participating in school affairs. Parents, in fact, may be drawn directly into the classrooms as teacher aides and guest experts in native culture. Eventually, as teachers seek out sources in the Indian community for first-hand cultural information, and as parents participate more actively in school life, a real dialogue may be established which could lead to the kind of mutual understanding that would enable parents to reinforce the schools' efforts in the home, and enable teachers to be more effective in the classroom through a deeper understanding of their Indian pupils.

"Teach the Best of Both"

Thus the inclusion of indigenous culture materials in the curriculum, while it fails to perpetuate the "best of Indian culture," can be an important tool in facilitating the inculcation of mainstream American job culture to children not prepared for this inculcation in the home. It is a step toward a more perceptive, humane pedagogy — a step away from denigrating Indian children as deprived, cultureless savages who must have American culture forcefully shoved down their throats.

We must, however, be realistic in accepting ethnic pedagogy as a replacement of the old curriculum in *technique*, rather than in purpose. It is still the purpose of the school to teach and perpetuate the culture of modern, technological America, and it is the grave responsibility of the school to do it well. Anything less is a crime against the next generation, a crime for which schools for Indians have long borne guilt.

The chances are good that the inclusion of native cultural materials will help the schools orient Indian children toward self-confident, fulfilling lives. Possibly these children will then be able to change, perhaps to humanize modern America. Their ability to accomplish this, however, must come from a foundation of knowledge and experience in successfully coping with modern America. It is this foundation which the schools must provide.

Those of us who hope to see the perpetuation of American Indian cultures as beautiful, viable lifeways in the midst of modern technological conformity must *trust the ability of the Indian communities themselves* to remain different and Indian. This will not, and should not be a goal of the schools.

Ignoring It Won't Make It Go Away

Jerry D. Blanche

Vol. 12, No. 1

A full and accurate history of the United States has never been written and probably never will be. Admittedly, it is asking a great deal to even expect such an account, but to expect greater accuracy and scope than has been written to this date is not asking too much. Even the most ignorant, bigoted racist in the country will agree that one specific ethnic group — the Native American, or Indian — has been either completely ignored or poorly represented in almost all American history books. Books, periodicals, and other materials used at the elementary, secondary, and collegiate levels are, at best, distortions of the American Indian, and the courses which utilize these materials ordinarily ignore materials which fairly and honestly portray Indians and their culture.

Steve Baldy, a Hupa Indian, put it rather bluntly: "History in college and history on the high school level is the most ethno-centric thing there is, in particular, Indian history. They don't really mention Indians except to say that they massacred Custer."[1]

On the same point, Alonzo Spang reported: "In completing a survey for a book, Robert Costs stated: 'These evaluations are the work of 32 Indian scholars, native historians, and Indian students. More than 300 books were examined in the course of this study. Not one could be approved as a dependable source of knowledge about the history and culture of the Indian people in America. Most of the books were, in one way or another, derogatory to the Native American. Most contained misinformation, distortions, or omissions of important history'."[2]

What is most ridiculous about the fact that history books continue to be so bad is that numerous high quality histories and other accounts of Indians are available, some as best-sellers, and they have been for many, many years. Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, Borland's *When the Legends Die*, Berger's *Little Big Man*, McCreight's *Firewater and Forked Tongues*, and Vanderwerth's *Indian Oratory* give good pictures of Indian youth, life, attitudes, and rhetoric. Why such realistic accounts of Indians have been neglected in the books which are used in countless schools is a question which most Anglo-Saxon educators and history writers do not care to answer. There is plenty of accurate information on the subject, and any teacher who refuses to utilize these materials is simply ignoring them.

To illustrate further, the New York Public Library requires 23 drawers in its card catalog for its holdings on American Indians, and the Library of Congress is comparable.[3] In contrast, there are 16 drawers devoted to Jews and only seven for Negroes, yet "certainly neither of these latter groups has been overlooked by writers."[4] Quantity, of course, does not necessarily mean quality, and some of what has been written in favor of Indians is also unjustifiably biased. Who will deny, however, that both quantity and quality are readily available? And who will argue that Jews and Blacks have been completely overlooked in the classrooms of America in recent years?

So, two facts have been established to this point: (1) American Indians have been misrepresented or ignored in history books and courses. (2) Ample material is available to rescind this discriminatory and pseudo-intellectual practice.

History books and history departments are not the only guilty parties, either. There is a real need for intensive study and analysis of the Indian word, or his rhetoric, which is another curricular void in most schools. The shocking fact is that Departments of Speech are just as guilty of neglect and misrepresentation of Indian rhetoric as history departments are of ignoring true Indian history. And what is even more disturbing is the way that rhetoric students and teachers react when the topic occasionally receives superficial mention. If someone asks a question about an Indian speech or issue in American history the typical response is a smile, followed by a clever squelch, followed by a determination on the part of the one asking to think twice before asking again. Or, the instructor may just defeat the inquiry with a jocular "You can't be serious!"

In other words, the typical Indian stereotype, i.e., "savage, drunk" or "noble, but dumb, dignified native," strikes a bell and a significant part of American history is again defeated by the cavalry. Too bad stereotyping leads to a disjointed view of American rhetorical tradition, but as Spang said, "These stereotypes are the direct product of the teaching of a distorted, maligning, and untruthful history of Indian life, culture, and traditions."[5] Ironically, a further result is a distorted, maligned, and untruthful history of *American* life, culture, and traditions. Interestingly enough, most Departments of Speech have permitted stereotyping to be an easy, convenient, traditional way to avoid Indian rhetoric in their *History of American Public Address.*

Perhaps the point has been exaggerated. It may be that Indian oratory has no real rhetorical significance and requires only an occasional term paper or thesis. After all, what has the Indian really contributed to the development of the United States, or what specific impact, or effect, has he had upon the country? The answer to a question of this sort is difficult for non-Indians to understand, but Spang expressed the Indian viewpoint eloquently: "In general, the Indian has contributed much to this society, to its people, and its institutions. Anglos often ask for a more specific listing of these contributions, as if demanding that we give a justification for our existence here. Instead, they should be thankful that the Indian has made, and not retracted, these contributions."[6]

As for the specifics of Indian rhetoric in American history, the issues were not remote or abstract. They were threatening and urgent concern — matters of life and death to a way of life as well as to thousands and thousands of individuals. Speakers such as Red Cloud, Pushmataha, Spotted Tail, Ely Parker, Quanah Parker, Chief Joseph, Sitting Bull, and Geronimo, to name a few, were men of eminence, dignity and ability, well trained in the oral tradition. Though they have been completely ignored in Oliver's *History of Public Speaking in America,*[7] their speeches would dispel for all time the myth of the Indian as an ignorant, stumbling savage. "The orators were well aware of the issues and knew that they were bargaining for nothing less than survival," according to Carmack.[8] Vanderwerth echoed these sentiments when he said, "These men were giants in their times. They . . . performed deeds and spoke words which will be engraved on the face of history for all time."[9]

In conclusion, specific analyses and rhetorical criticisms will have to be deferred to later papers. Though the brilliance of specific Indian orators has not been proved here, no concession has been made that these are undemonstrated claims.

How much longer will Departments of Speech pretend that Indian oratory is insignificant or extinct? When will Departments of Communication begin practicing nondiscrimination instead of hypocritically preaching it?

* * *

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[4] Berry, p. 1.

[5] Spang, p. 97.

[6] Spang, p. 99.

[7] Robert T. Oliver, *History of Public Speaking in America* (Boston: Alyn and Bacon, Inc., 1965).

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Red Apples

Richard C. Boutwell, William C. Low,
Kristin Williams, Thomas Proffit
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Red apples. That is what they call Indians who have been too totally assimilated into the white man's culture. Must an Indian become "white on the inside" to succeed in an institution of higher education in today's America? The purpose of this article was to lend insight into this question, examining the differences in the attitudes and values of Indians and non-Indians attending a large western university.

In the past there have been two significant generalizations about Indians, affecting research on the scholastic success of Indians in the American system of higher education: First, the pressures from families to return home are so strong that they become a detriment to Indian students (McGrath, 1965); second, because of his culture, the Indian will usually withdraw from the competition presented by the more competition-oriented white students. This withdrawal eventually brings about failure (Wollott, 1960). The premise upon which the cited authors base their observations is that there is no significant difference between Indians and non-Indians in the value they place on education, their problems in school, their grade-point averages, their reported absences, and their feelings about racial discrimination.

In order to determine the validity of these premises, a survey was distributed to a randomly-selected group of 110 students from a large private western university, with one of the nation's leading Indian education programs. Sixty-eight percent of those students measured were American Indians, primarily from the western half of the United States. The remaining 32% were non-Indian university students chosen as an alternate population to which the Indians could be compared. Table 1 provides a population description.

Table 2 compares the values and attitudes of Indians and non-Indians. All of the results are reported in percentages; the numbers in parentheses report the non-Indian responses. A statistical procedure known as a t-test was applied to the percentages in order to determine the statistical significance of the differences between the two populations. If there is no statistical difference, then no scientific conclusions can be drawn, though the scores may still prove interesting.

TABLE 1
Population Description

Variables	Indians	Non-Indians
Males	40%	51%
Females	60%	49%
Living on-campus	46%	12%
Living off-campus	54%	88%
Mean age	20	23

Note — Answering the questionnaire was voluntary for both groups.

TABLE 2
Indian and Non-Indian Comparison

Variables	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
1. The training received in school does little to meet real life problems.	41 (34)	10 (9)	49 (57)
2. The more education a man has, the more he can enjoy life.	63 (34) *	12 (14)	25 (51) *
3. Grade point average	2.45 (3.05)		
4. Reported semester absences	10 (6.5) **		
	Yes		No
5. Do you feel there is discrimination against Indians when they seek employment?	35 (30)		65 (70)
6. Do you feel there is racial discrimination at this university?	48 (14) **		52 (86)

Note — All numbers in parentheses are non-Indian values. All figures are in percents.

$^*p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$

The figures of Table 2 reveal significant differences for three of the survey items. First, Indian students relate enjoyment in life with education, while non-Indians do not. Peculiarly, however, the two groups do not significantly differ in their estimation of the value of school training for meeting real life problems, an idea that would seem to be closely related to one's enjoyment of life.

Second, the reported absences were significantly different, with Indians missing 3.5 more days than non-Indians. From supplemental questions we discovered that these absences were due to choice, not illness. It is important to note here that the grade-point averages for both groups are fairly high and there is no significant difference in their scores.

The third question with significant differences, question six, taken along with the immediately preceding question, reveals an important discrepancy between Indians and non-Indians. Question five seems to indicate that the two groups basically agree in their evaluation of employment discrimination. Question six, however, shows a very significant discrepancy in the evaluation by each group of the discrimination at the university. There are several possible reasons for this disparity in feelings. One is that there may be some real discrimination, but the non-Indians are unaware of it; another is that there may be a good deal of discrimination, but the non-Indians minimize its existence; or the third possibility is that the Indians are hypersensitive to discrimination and emphasize it out of proportion. Whatever the case, Indians and non-Indians view the problem with significant difference.

TABLE 3
Conditions Affecting Academic Standing

Section 1

Variables	Major Problem	Minor Problem
1. Classwork is too difficult	15 (0)	32 (14)
2. Money difficulties	21 (2)	45 (26)
3. Language problem, i. e., reading/writing	13 (8)	28 (11)
4. Pressure from parents to come home	9 (0)	21 (0)

Section 2

Variables	Helpful	Made No Difference	Unhelpful
5. Having an Indian for a roommate	31	48	21
6. School activities	47	36	17
7. Counseling from Indian office	42	33	12
8. Having a non-Indian for a roommate	35	51	14
9. Living on campus	34	45	21

Note.—All numbers in parentheses are non-Indian values. All figures are in percents.

Table 3 is divided into two sections. Section 1 compares the two groups' estimations of their major and minor problems in pursuing their academic goals. No statistical test was applied here since the percentages themselves are of greatest importance. Overall, the figures from section 1 show Indians with more classroom problems, money problems, and pressure from home. Section 2 of Table 3 does not show a comparison at all, but merely reports the responses of the Indian students to some questions concerning living conditions which have been found to affect academic performance. This section is self-explanatory.

What have we learned about the Indian students' values and attitudes from this survey? Have the successful Indian students become "red apples"? Partially. The survey shows that Indians tend to value education even more than the non-Indian students. They have left their hogans, their economically-deprived former way of life and are enjoying the fruits of the white man's culture. The white man's education is the key to the white man's affluence. But the differences indicated in the survey show that the Indian students are still aware of their backgrounds, their "Indianness." They are more sensitive to discrimination at the university, indicating that they still "feel" Indian. They feel a greater pressure from home, implying that their ties to their home culture are still great. Moreover, the fact that a good deal more Indian than non-Indian students consider classwork difficulty a problem lends weight to the second of the two generalities mentioned at the beginning of this paper. The Indian seems to feel the competition more keenly than the non-Indian.

Thus successful Indian students have become at least partially assimilated into the non-Indian culture, but they have not become completely white on the inside.

* * *

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At Ramah, New Mexico:

Bilingual Legal Education

Stephen Conn

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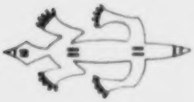

At Ramah Navajo High School, a legal education program will research, prepare, and present a fundamentally different kind of high school program emphasizing in all aspects the uniquely pluralistic legal environment in which the student as a Navajo resides. For the student, his dual identity as a member of the Navajo Nation and as an American citizen will be stressed as the impact of customary law ways, the Navajo common law, and the common law developed through state and federal jurisprudence are presented as they actually exist within the context of life in Navajo land.

The members of the traditional Navajo community may be called upon to relate their own ideas about norms for behavior and ways to solve problems to those of an attorney or formal institution within the Navajo or state judicial system. The judicial official or Anglo attorney must attempt to perceive Navajo law ways as he communicates with his client.

The Navajo high school student's posture is somewhat different from that of the Navajo adult, who was reared in a traditional environment, or that of the Anglo attorney. For him, the recognition that both kinds of law ways are relevant to his life, and worthy of regard, will be a lesson that will not only help him in interface situations in non-Indian institutions but also will help him to assume the role of interpreter and cultural intermediary for those who can relate only with greater difficulty to the non-Navajo world and its special and often arbitrary ideas about how things should be defined and how problems should be resolved. Most important, as a student with increasing understanding of the comprehensive nature of Navajo thoughts about law and dispute resolution, he will interpret Anglo law with increasing respect for what was already present in Navajo society before Anglo law and arrogance toward Navajo historical tradition arrived and made its presence felt in Navajo land.

He will ask with candor, "What works for my people?" and will be equipped to join the generation who will not feel inhibited about modifying institutions, and foreign ways of dispute resolution that do not work for Navajo people.

The substance of the course will be neither legal history nor a course in "good citizenship." It will be an introduction to all law ways (customary as well as formal) that necessarily are important to Navajo people when they face ordinary problems.

For example, consumer problems will be studied not only from the perspective of the formal law's definitions of rights and duties that are inherent in a contractual relationship, but also the Navajo ideas about the rights and duties that are inherent in agreements of sale about various items such as goods or land.

Family or domestic relation questions concerning marriage will explore the Navajo conception of marital relationships and the rights and duties of the husband and wife and compare these to the definitions imposed by state or tribal codes written by outside attorneys.

In short, the conflicts and parallel ideas in a range of subject law areas will be discussed with an emphasis upon real problems and ideas that are still currently held by Navajo people.

Navajo ways of resolving disputes of different kinds informally and formal remedies offered by tribal, state and federal courts as a teaching strategy as well as a teaching objective will be explored. Exciting possibilities will be offered the participant in a "moot court" session that pays equal attention to customary methods and to formal methods and that allows the students to evaluate the success of techniques for problem solving developed by the American jurisprudence and by the Navajo.

Content Areas

Consumer education. As it embodies elements of the formal law of contract and the law of torts, the Navajo student will learn how to deal as a consumer with specific problem situations familiar to him and his parents. Two principles of these are: Navajo versus trader in the various functions performed by this monopolistic institution in rural areas of Navajo land; and Navajo versus car dealer (or town merchant).

Within each relationship, there are specific elements that have their basis in formal or in traditional dealings or conceptions of property as they have evolved in the Navajo experience. Chief among these are: making of the contract — the bargaining experience; money management — securance of credit, understanding of secure property, understanding of credit; dealing with disputes over fraud, shoddy goods, and contract areas.

General behavioral objectives will be: (1) To give the student a firm understanding of his parent's traditional views of property as it is employed within these commercial contexts so that they may act increasingly as sophisticated consumers in their own behalf and as they speak for their parents and plan the future development of their Navajo community; (2) To give them a firm grasp of bargaining and informal dispute resolution techniques as they may be carried out with the trader and car dealer without the aid of lawyers; (3) To show how the state or tribal court may be used to help them secure consumer protection in individual disputes; and (4) To show them how to restructure legal and economic relationships with traders and car dealers through political efforts and community organization in order to secure consumer protection for all Navajo people in the consumer community.

General teaching strategies. As a general matter, teaching strategies in each subject area will focus upon the disputes or encounters in each context and not upon a presentation of abstract rules of procedure. Students will be encouraged to identify with or to portray the participants through several devices for learning.

(1) Role playing in dramatization of encounters and disputes in the open classroom context will be a principal vehicle of learning. To illustrate: a class of 20 is divided in groups of five. Each group will select a leader and be instructed to proceed to an individual in the middle of the room who is a trader to pawn a necklace. Attempts by the trader to cheat the consumer will be noted by the other groups as they are successful. The trader will speak Navajo. Or again, a car dealer will be dealt with as he attempts to sell a "lemon" to a subgroup, or have their leader sign a blank contract. Other groups will see if the participating group asks the correct questions, or if it is misled and will criticize their peers in a post-encounter discussion. In a similar vein, dispute resolution will be learned as each subgroup divides and argues a dispute over property rights before an individual in the center of the room who portrays a judge or, again, a traditional conciliator. The other subgroups will observe and criticize, and then argue positions in disputes themselves. This will take place in Navajo and in English, depending on the forum (tribal court or traditional conciliator, or white judge in the state court).

(2) A casebook of Navajo experience will document typical disputes about consumer problems and personal property generally, to show how these problems are presented in tribal and state courts and how they are resolved. Commentaries and discussion questions will guide the students and teachers. These disputes will provide the source of some dramatizations, as students and teachers suggest how they would have acted.

(3) Active projects: Class participation in projects which will "spill over" into the community is a third projected teaching strategy in consumer education. Proposed projects are development of a consumer cooperative, and use of a local credit union by class members for savings and loans in their own personal affairs through the school credit union.

Active Participation Induced

These projects will entail participation with Navajos from other parts of the reservation who have worked on cooperatives, as well as local bankers and a CUNA representative, who will explain their institutions. These same teaching devices, i.e., role playing, the casebook, and activity projects, will be used in the two additional subject courses.

Although the three areas of conflict and relationship are divided here and will be divided in the texts and teaching manual, it is projected that a teacher may intersperse conflicts from any of the three areas in the same session, as he becomes familiar with the material and perceives the relationships. Thus, contracts with merchants and agreements with neighbors over land usage do have parallel legal implications as disputes and can be treated jointly or independently within the frame of separate courses.

In lieu of an independent course on, e.g., "What is law and what is a legal system" or "How problems are solved in courts and in traditional ways," this information will be interspersed in the dispute resolution that progresses around the three major subject areas of consumer law, family law, and the course on property damage with neighbors.

As students evaluate their own roles and those of the third-party dispute resolvers, this information will be introduced.

Law and the Family. Once again the focus will be upon property, both real and personal, as it is used, enjoyed, and transmitted within the Navajo family of today. The rights and responsibilities of the husband, wife, and children as they were set within the context of the extended family, matrilineal hierarchy, and clan were the focal point of Navajo law ways and social organization, and continue to be important as they contrast or accord with formal law's definitions of familial rights and duties. The course will attempt to show the Navajo youngster how the laws of Navajo society and of the state *both* define how he is expected to relate to this cornerstone of the Ramah community.

Subtopics will be: Marriage, property, and disputes; the sheep and the grazing permit; children, their rights and duties; death in the family, inheritance, and the law.

The chief behavioral objective will be to reorient the student to his family through the traditional and formal systems of law. The disparity between the written tribal code and traditional ideas of familial rights and responsibilities has been particularly disorienting to Navajo youngsters. So, too, the displacement of parental authority by boarding schools has created a gap that locally controlled schools are only beginning to perceive as they create an environment where parents must reassume responsibility for disciplinary problems of their youngsters. This course, is, then, again focused on a particular problem area of Navajo people.

Teaching strategies: In addition to the techniques listed above, parent advisors will play an immediate role in the classroom, as they discuss Navajo aspects of familial conduct.

Law and the Community. In earlier days, Navajo people had special rules for dealing with the chance encounters that lead to injuries by or of fellow tribal members who were not their relatives. These rules of compensation are the common analog of private remedies in tort and criminal procedure as it is implemented through the tribal courts of today. From three points of reference, the third subject will deal with the problem of obtaining justice in the tribal courts in cases where personal injury or property damage has occurred.

(1) Getting relief: The evolution of the court system on the reservation emphasized public sanction and not ways that the court could secure private damages for people with problems. Only recently has representation in tribal court for private actions become available. Confusion about how the court can be used, and, especially, when the court will help individuals and when it will act on behalf of the tribe to punish wrongdoers is still widespread among adults and young people.

With a focus upon property damage and personal injuries, the first part of the course will explain how legal institutions relate to present-day needs for problem solving outside of the family and to traditional methods of problem solving. The objective will be to prepare students to help their parents and themselves obtain help they want from courts; be that help damages, injunctions, or even criminal sanctions against people who mistreat them and their property.

(2) The rights of defendants: The second objective will be to explain what students can do if arrested or served with a civil process in the tribal or state courts.

(3) The rights of students: The third objective is to focus on the rights and responsibilities of students in schools. This will allow students to act out situations that are of immediate concern to them.

Teaching strategies: The most difficult concepts of Anglo-American tradition —negligence, criminal intent, rights against self-incrimination —have been incorporated into the tribal court system. Yet, to the extent that they are not interpreted through the perspective of traditional means of "righting injuries," they bar the student or his parent from securing justice in the tribal court.

The role of participants in the judicial process and the meaning of these terms in cases will be explored through role playing and the case book approach.

It is the decision of our staff to forego the common "introduction to law" course that explains how laws are made and applied by concentrating on projects that allow students to make their own rules of conduct in their own institution, the high school. Therefore, the process of law making and enforcement will be contained in a project whereby the students draft and present to the community school board a code of student behavior. As they draft this code, the primary issues of due procedural rights and constitutional guarantees will be given immediate relevance to them.

How We Plan To Get There

Preparatory stage: The initial work of the legal staff will be to engage in collection of field data for the instructional material. With the Navajo legal specialist, the consulting attorney will:

(1) Bring together existing research in law and social sciences on relevant traditional definitions and dispute resolving mechanisms, used in the disposition and control of property. The selection of property, its use, disposition and control as the primary focus of field work into Navajo law ways for the legal education course is based upon its centrality in Navajo religion, linguistics, social organization, even as they have been influenced by white institutions and rearrangements. Property relationships with family members (including sexual rights in the traditional view), other tribal members, and outsiders in the market place fix a point at which the implications of variable systems of law affect Navajos of traditional or modern persuasions in their day-to-day affairs.

(2) Develop methodological tools that will be utilized by members of the law team to determine accurately definitions and norms held relevant by Navajo people, particularly by Ramah Navajos.

(3) Interview community leadership and legal service personnel with experience in the Ramah area to learn of specific cases of disputes in their recollection that illustrate the existence, conflicts, or coordination of Navajo law ways and formal law.

(4) Review tribal court records to discover actual cases to utilize within the high school curricula so that the method of instruction will emphasize the problem case or case method approach.

Timetable for field study, and who works on it: Participants in the preliminary stage of two months duration will be the consulting attorney and the Navajo legal specialist. The curriculum development specialist will help to tailor the field study results to the immediate needs of the classroom. The combination of field research, interviews with those active in dispute resolution, and review of extant data on Navajo law ways will lead to a second stage.

In the second stage, the material gathered on Navajo law ways will be combined with basic material gathered from common law. This will include, depending on the course in preparation, practical presentations on the law that guides many day-to-day transactions or the procedures followed once a dispute is placed into the hands of the Navajo or Anglo practitioner. Specific materials that will be prepared include:

(1) A course text that will utilize the case method, setting forth disputes and commenting on how the parties to the disputes defined the problem and resolved it.

(2) Dramatizations which will include participation in "moot court"

presentations in both formal and in customary legal contexts. Preparation for this stage of learning will take place after the class has had an opportunity to view trial or customary dispute resolution procedure, and after lectures on procedure, evidence, and the like. It will be included in the training manual for teachers.

(3) Finally, the Navajo legal specialist and the Navajo language specialist will develop a Navajo legal dictionary to be used as a teaching supplement with the words and terms that are found most difficult to comprehend as the material is used in the classroom.

The timetable for this work is the following two months, with revisions occurring constantly as the material is evaluated in the classroom during the next term.

Legal Resources Utilized

The use of outside resources are published and unpublished anthropological material, used in forming the basis for the comparative legal approach after it has been reviewed and criticized by lay advocates in the DNA legal services program; and tribal judges, prosecutors, and other legal officers familiar with Navajo disputes, who will be interviewed during the field work. Some of these authority figures will be asked to discuss their jobs and the workings of the institutions during the school year.

Basis on which revision will take place and priorities will be set: Comprehension of legal ideas that are learned during engagement in the teaching process of dispute resolution will be evaluated periodically in taped seminar settings with groups of five students and the consulting attorney and Navajo legal specialist. Class interest in course priorities will also be tapped in this manner.

In these seminars, the students will be asked to criticize classroom procedure directly. Their comprehension of Anglo-American legal terms when used in the Navajo language will be reviewed by the Navajo legal specialist. Their progress in understanding how to cope with disputes in each subject area will be reviewed through the discussion of cases as they are asked to give suggestions on how they might be resolved. Tapes and individual comprehension will be rated as the period of instruction progresses.

Parents will also be asked to criticize the course content and set priorities within the broad categories outlined above at the beginning of evaluation and periodically thereafter.

Staff development: The staff development that will take place will involve three distinct phases: (1) Training of the legal specialist in field study techniques to develop material for use in the classroom; (2) Training of Navajo legal specialists to give appropriate presentations in the classroom and to relate the teaching strategy to the open classroom; and (3) Training of parent-helpers to assist in classroom presentations.

Survey — Opinions of Indian Upward Bound Students on:

Reservations and Tribal Customs, History and Language

Patrick E. Graham and Judson H. Taylor

Vol. 8, No. 3

Anyone who has had any experience with Indian students is aware of how impossible it is to make any easy generalizations about them as a group. They range from students who have learned English only upon entering school to those whose families have not spoken their tribal languages for two generations; from students whose tribal culture is still intact and vigorous to those who are in a nowhere land between two cultures, to those who are Indian in ancestry only.

One valid generalization, however, is that all Indians are descended from a non-European heritage. They all possess the history of a culture that was as strong and pervasive as any European culture, yet was radically different. Where this culture has remained comparatively continuous and intact, it can still provide as many conflicts with the European-derived society as it did 300 years ago.

Many tribes have disintegrated to the point where they are "culturally disadvantaged," both from the Indian and the Anglo-American point of view. Others, especially most southwestern groups, have retained a great deal of their traditional culture and have remained resistant to many Anglo-American ideas. These tribes must be termed "culturally different" rather than "disadvantaged." They are not yet a subculture of the general society, such as people raised in a city slum might be; they are largely an insular culture existing within the general society, yet not a fully participating segment of it.

This suggests the difficulty with which many Indian students are faced as they enter school. What the students feel about all of this, and their opinions about their own people, customs and past, is an area of great interest and concern. To gather data on this issue, the authors surveyed 73 high school Indian students who were enrolled in the All-Indian Upward Bound Project sponsored by Arizona State University and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

These students spent eight weeks during the summers of 1967 and 1968 living on the Arizona State University campus and taking part in a program designed to stimulate their interest in pursuing post high school education and training. In addition to courses in reading, speech, math, arts and crafts, drama, music, Spanish and guidance, the project also offered a course in Indian history and culture, which surveyed the historical development and focused on present day problems of North American tribes in general and the tribes represented in the program in particular. This survey was made in conjunction with that course.

The tribes represented and the number of students from each one are listed in Table 1.

For purposes of discussion, the questions in the survey have been divided into three general categories. Table 2 includes the responses to questions involving *reservations*, Table 3 to responses involving *tribal customs*, Table 4 to responses involving *language*, and Table 5 to questions involving *tribal history*.

This survey was limited in scope and the number of students involved was quite small, especially when separated into tribal groups. No startling new insights are revealed, but certain points are strongly reemphasized by the results.

It should also be noted that these students represent a particular segment of their generation. Nearly all attended BIA or private off-reservation or public schools. They are students who were felt to have the potential for post high school work, but who, up to their sophomore year, had not been exerting their full potential in their high school work. Their grades were generally below what they were felt to be capable of; they were poorly motivated; they were not actively involved in many aspects of high school life.

TABLE 1
Student Representation by Tribe at All-Indian Upward Bound Project

TRIBE	NO
APACHE	18
HOPI	9
HUALAPAI	1
MOHAVE	1
NAVAJO	21
PAPAGO	12
PIMA	11

TABLE 2
Responses of Indian Upward Bound Students to Questions Related to Reservations

	Per cent responding Yes to questions[1]					
Questions	Combined	Apache	Hopi	Navajo	Papago	Pima
Were you raised on a reservation?	82	83	75	85	82	82
Do you now live on a reservation?	87	89	88	85	100	82
Do you think reservations should be continued?	97	100	100	90	100	100
Do you plan to live on a reservation when you finish school?	46	56	25	45	70	36
If good jobs were available would you live on a reservation?	83	83	88	85	100	82

[1] Hualapai and Mohave tribes are represented in the Combined category only, since there was just one student from each tribe in the survey

The great majority of the students made noticeable and often exceptional improvements in their grades and other aspects of school life during their junior year. Therefore, when this survey was taken, they were fairly typical of above average Indian high school students in Arizona. As potential leaders of the Indian community their attitudes should be of particular interest to educators.

Results and Discussions

Table 2 serves first of all to help illustrate the background of the students. The overwhelming majority were born and raised and still live on their tribal reservations. This applies to the majority of all Indians in Arizona.

A certain dichotomy is shown by the last three questions in this table. The students are overwhelmingly in favor of having the reservations continued, but less than half of them want to make their own homes there. That this feeling is largely a result of their schooling and the accompanying exposure to the material standards of American society is illustrated by the final question. Almost twice as many would want to live on their reservations if good jobs were available.

This table demonstrates that education and exposure to off-reservation life is having an effect. It is beginning to appeal to many Indian students, but trying to gain the benefits is still mostly a matter of entering a foreign world. The great majority, those who have been raised on the reservations and even some who have not, would prefer to remain in the world they know and are most familiar with, but they also are desirous of gaining more material benefits than are presently available there.

There is such a great overlap of opinion in the results in Table 3 that possibly the only legitimate conclusion that can be drawn is that the students are very confused. The number answering 'yes' to the first two questions plainly demonstrate that many of the traditional aspects of life are fading away for the generation now in school. One reason that could

TABLE 3
Responses of Indian Upward Bound Students to Questions Related to Tribal Customs

	PER CENT RESPONDING YES TO QUESTIONS					
QUESTIONS	COMBINED	APACHE	HOPI	NAVAJO	PAPAGO	PIMA
WERE YOU RAISED IN A TRADITIONAL WAY?	54	56	38	55	60	64
HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN PART IN A TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONY?	35	28	63	60	11	9
WOULD YOU NOW TAKE PART IN A TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONY?	55	50	50	55	80	50
DO YOU BELIEVE IN ANY OF YOUR TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES?	63	55	88	70	55	40
DO YOU BELIEVE IN CHRISTIANITY?	94	100	75	89	100	100
DO YOU THINK THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE SHOULD BE CONTINUED?	70	78	75	75	64	40
DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD BE HAPPY LIVING THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE?	38	56	50	40	22	9

be given for the comparative few who said that they had taken part in tribal religious ceremonies would be that most ceremonies are held during the months these students are away at a school.

Obviously, there are conflicting forces at play here when the number who profess to believe in their tribal religion is compared with the number who profess to believe in Christianity. The overlap here may be one of the clearest examples of the conflicting influences affecting these students. With the exception of the private schools represented in the group, there would seem to be no overt attempt by the schools to Christianize their students, but the effects and influences of Anglo education and the Christian religion could not be separated.

What was stated in regard to Table 2 is borne out again by the answers to the last two questions in Table 3. Most of these students want the traditional life continued, but not for themselves. They are concerned for the older people, for the non-educated people, but they themselves are looking more to the outside world.

Table 4 repeats what is well known to be the greatest single problem that Indian students must overcome in the schools. All of their education

TABLE 4
Responses of Indian Upward Bound Students to Questions Related to Language

	Per cent responding Yes to questions					
Questions	Combined	Apache	Hopi	Navajo	Papago	Pima
Do you speak your tribal language?	86	94	75	90	82	91
Did you learn your tribal language before English?	77	83	75	89	82	55
Do your parents read and write English?	94	100	100	85	91	100
Do you translate what you hear in English into your tribal language?	25	39	14	32	9	18
Do you want your children to learn your tribal language?	92	89	88	90	100	100
Should your children learn English first?	41	50	25	45	18	55

must be acquired in what is for them a foreign language. The fact that their languages are orally-oriented while the one they learn in school is visually-oriented only increases the difficulty.

These students are slightly exceptional in that so many of their parents read and write English. In many areas of Arizona this would not be true. They are also above average in that so few of them have to translate everything from English into their tribal language. The comparative few responding yes to this question, however, does imply that most of them would not have difficulty in hearing certain English sounds, in writing and in expressing themselves in English.

The continual dichotomy they are involved with is brought out again by the last two questions. They do not want their language to die; they want their children to learn it. And, although they are all perceptive enough to know that it might be easier for their children if they were to learn English first, they also seem to be aware that to do so might mean that their children would not bother to learn the tribal language afterwards.

Since the survey was taken toward the end of the summer session, the data in Table 5 could be assumed to be strongly influenced by what the students had been exposed to, especially in their course on Indian history. Very few had ever had a course in the subject except for the two summer programs. But, as is obvious from the replies, they were convinced that it was important to know more about themselves.

While a great deal of talk has been circulating about the need for Indian students to learn Indian history in the schools, only a few attempts have been made to implement anything. Most of what has been done has had to rely on the efforts of a few interested teachers. The reaction of these students seems to emphasize the importance of doing something. It is significant that some Indian students and leaders are becoming aware

TABLE 5
Responses of Indian Upward Bound Students to Questions Related to Their Tribal History

	PER CENT RESPONDING YES TO QUESTIONS					
QUESTIONS	COMBINED	APACHE	HOPI	NAVAJO	PAPAGO	PIMA
DO YOU KNOW YOUR TRIBAL HISTORY?	35	50	25	45	18	18
IS IT IMPORTANT TO KNOW YOUR TRIBAL HISTORY?	93	83	87	100	100	100
WOULD YOU LIKE TO GET INVOLVED IN TRIBAL POLITICS?	66	59	95	49	90	90

of the importance of their past and of doing something about it before it is entirely lost, as has happened to other minority groups in this country.

Summary

There are two general conclusions that can be drawn from the ~~survey.~~ The first is that it illustrates the many elements of Indian heritage that are still present in the lives of these students and the pervasive effect that these elements still have on their lives.

The second, overlapping and more sweeping, is the illustration of the general state of confusion being experienced by most of these students. As they enter their senior year of high school, they have several conflicting forces being exerted upon them. They no longer have a really close identity with their more traditional parents, but their heritage is still pervasive enough to prevent them from fully conforming with the predominant culture to which they are exposed in the schools.

It must be kept in mind that the Indian students now in school in Arizona actually represent the first generation of Indians who will have the majority of its members exposed to a high school education. In the abstract, their problems are similar to those that the European immigrants and their children, particularly non-English groups, experienced when they first came here. This, however, is no excuse for not trying to remove, or at least ease, as many of the difficulties as possible.

As with any other survey, this one only illustrates some of the problems; it does not give the answers to them, although there are many implications within the figures shown here. But the fact that these students had to enter a special program to begin to reach their potential in itself suggests that there are weaknesses and deficiencies, and that more and concentrated and immediate steps must be taken to correct them.

* * *

Audition for Sympathy

By Agnes Pratt

I left in the corner of my eye
One pleading, agonized tear,
Hoping, in sympathy, you'd ask my why!
Blind, unmindful of my distress,
You've turned to go!
Alone now, I'm smiling it away—
Grateful because you'll never know.

Some Light on the Adjustment of Indian Children

Elizabeth E. Hoyt

Vol. 4, No. 2

The study reported here was undertaken to give more specific insight into the reasons why young Indians leave school earlier than white children and why, when they do leave school, they adjust less well in the economic world. It is, of course, obvious that they are to a certain extent suspended between two cultures; but it has not been altogether clear whether this means, primarily, that they feel the pull of the non-material values of the old Indian culture, which are at some variance with modern white culture; or whether, having accepted white values in the main, they have difficulty in following them out. If the latter, what are the specific difficulties?

The major basis of the study is 582 essays from Indian children, 15-17 years old, on "My Hopes for My Life on Leaving School," plus 207 essays from non-Indian children on the same subject. The Indian schools included one Navajo Special Program School, and five schools on a high school level; one federal boarding school (Albuquerque), one reservation public school (Zuni), one public integrated school (Gallup High), one Roman Catholic integrated school (Gallup Cathedral), and one Protestant Mission School (Ganado). In addition there were 287 essays on "Plans," mostly from South Dakota; these were used only for supplementary purposes, since the word 'Plans' is narrower than 'Hopes' and carries a somewhat different meaning.

Although it would be much better to get an adequate number of essays from Indian children all over the United States, it was felt that the southwest would be the place where attachment to the old Indian culture would be most likely to be expressed, and so if a choice of regions had to be made, the southwest would be the most valuable region.

The greatest differences in response by schools, as might be expected, were not between the different types of high schools, but between all high schools, as a group, and the Navajo Special Program School. The NSP children were the least sophisticated of the children and said much more about the importance of family or tribe. Certain things, however, were true of all essays from Indian children and are significant as contrasted with, or similar to, the essays from white children.

There were three outstanding similarities between Indian and white children's hopes. The first was emphasis on importance of job; 91% of Indians and 89% of whites spoke of job. Second, Indian children expressed desire for material things such as cars and houses in about the same proportions as the white children. Third, among both Indians and whites less interest was expressed in non-material than in material values. No Indian child expressed any interest in the non-material values of old Indian culture.

There were also three major differences between Indian and white children's hopes. First, the Indian children were much more ignorant than white children about jobs that might be available to them and the training necessary and available for those jobs. All of the schools attended by these Indians paid some attention to vocation, but in general the Indian children did not have the foundation on which to build that the white children had. Roughly, the Indian children were confused by not knowing what jobs were possible, the white children were confused by knowing of many jobs. Second, nearly a third of the Indian children expressed a concern or affection for family or tribe; references to family were twice as many as those to tribe. No white child mentioned concern or affection for family. Third, the Indian children, in contrast to the white children, expressed considerable insecurity about their future. They did not mention possible prejudice toward them, but feared they might not make the grade, may become bums or just drift along because the temptations were too many or they were not smart. A few said they had been discouraged by others. However, the Indian children sometimes stated a very strong determination to succeed.

Another part of the study, not subject to statistical presentation, is findings from the writer's visits to various centers where Indians live, both on and off reservations. The most important of these were in New Mexico, Washington and South Dakota. In these centers the writer discussed experience with Indians, especially young Indians, with various employers of labor and employment agencies, and also visited all social centers and social enterprises for Indians, saw the work or recreation in process and talked with those in charge.

The evidence from the economic side is rather more hopeful than that from the social. It seemed to be the general opinion of employers that at present it is too much to expect most Indians to keep at work regularly and consistently, but if the employer is liberal in granting workers leave to stay home, or go home, when the urge is upon them, and is generally understanding of Indian home backgrounds, he could ordinarily expect good service. It was pointed out that while Indian children are capable of great effort and are by no means lazy, they, or at least the boys, do not grow up in an atmosphere where steady and regular employment is expected; and we ignorantly assume that they should have work attitudes which have never been developed in them. With sufficiently intelligent attitudes on our part, a good portion of the difficulties of a good Indian labor force in suitable employment would disappear.

To turn to the social side, in most of the communities visited there were social centers or social enterprises for Indians. In all except one instance these appeared to isolate Indians from the general stream of community life with neighboring whites. Opinion of the doubtful value of these undertakings on long-run improvement of relations was expressed by three of the most intelligent white persons (a Roman Catholic, a Methodist, a Friend) who were working in these agencies with Indians: All had started with enthusiasm, knowing Indians needed special help, but though Indians came to them in large numbers they had begun to doubt the ultimate effects of such help on Indian morale. All agreed, of course, that the best thing would be for Indians and whites to have closer social association, on man-to-man or friend-to-friend basis, but they did not know how to bring it about. One limited instance of this was found, a Saturday night dance program established by community leaders to bring young whites and young Indians together (Bellingham, Washington).

Some churches that started as integrated churches have now set up separate Indian churches, and justify their action because thus their worshippers are increased in numbers.

There were in some places Indian celebrations, as dances, rodeos and barbecues, which whites attended. The writer's limited experience with these was that at such functions there was very little social intercourse between Indians and whites and they served more to set the Indians apart as a peculiar group than to bring whites and Indians together. In all but one instance these celebrations appeared to be primarily money-making spectacles: the picturesque customs of several tribes were combined, the costumes came from a mail-order house and some features of the spectacles were not Indian at all. The exception was a series of dances at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque: the dances were genuine and at the end the Indians called to the large white audience to join them, and they all danced a simple dance together.

From the evidence of the essays, plus the more tentative evidence of the writer's contacts in Indian centers, it would seem that Indian children are in the main following the direction of the white society around them, or at any rate have little other direction; but they are having difficulty in following it. Not only do they lack vocational preparation, they have an inadequate background of knowledge both of jobs and training and inadequate realization of the employer's requirement of regularity of employment. In the second place they feel family ties more strongly than white children of the present generation do; thus when they leave home to take a job it is particularly hard for them to carry through on it—they feel they need contact with home. In the third place, and this is also an aspect on the first and second, they are handicapped, not directly by prejudice as such, but by not being fully accepted in white society.

This last point seems to the writer the hardest to deal with. On the part of whites there is in general a lack of concern for Indians, based in part on ignorance. When there is concern, it often takes the form of "doing something for Indians" that separates them from whites still more. On the part of young Indians there is shyness and doubt; on the part of older Indians, suspicion and resentment to a considerable extent justified, but greater than is justified.

It is also the writer's opinion that more separation of Indians, however high the motives, is not going to help Indians in the long run, nor is it going to help the United States in its efforts to bring about more understanding among all the peoples of the world. The Indian problem, in other words, is part of a whole-world problem, the solutions for which we are groping. What needs to be built upon are the generally friendly and constructive attitudes of the young and the (so far relatively few) cases of constructive experience outside of schools which are now bringing about better relations between whites and Indians. In so far as this is a matter of providing financial means for experimental projects, the whites have usually (but not always) the greater advantage and responsibility; but for success, attitudes and cooperation of Indians are equally as important as the attitudes and cooperation of whites.

The Philosophy of Good Tribal Relations

Henry J. Keneally

Vol. 1, No. 3

The success or failure of the Indian Health Program depends, to a great extent, on our ability to work with the Indian beneficiaries. The acceptance or rejection of our services, contrary to popular belief, is not determined by the excellence of the professional skills of our staff—unless the ability to relate to our Indian beneficiaries is identified as one of these professional skills. Unfortunately, few, if any, of us have had the opportunity to develop the ability to relate to Indians through our normal educational processes. Our education commences when we first meet the Indian patients or reservation residents with whom we will be associated during the period of time we will be in the program. The experiences we will have during this association will depend entirely on the relations we develop.

The purpose of this tribal relations paper is to assist you, the new ememployee, to adjust to this new environment and to suggest ways and methods that will insure good tribal relations. Your experience in this program can be one of the most satisfying experiences you will ever have, or else it can be the opposite. It will depend on you.

Self-Analysis

Individuals who choose to work with underprivileged, sick, uneducated, and socially depressed groups of people are motivated toward this work for a variety of reasons. The majority of us choose to identify our motives as altruistic. Few of us care to explore beneath the surface of our altruistic motivation. Is our so-called altruism unselfish, or are we answering basic selfish needs and cloaking them with this aura of altruism?

In order to achieve success in our relationships with *any* peoples we must recognize that the first obstacle to be overcome is that of *understanding*. Before we understand others we must first understand ourselves. To do this we must recognize the following:

1. We derive great emotional satisfaction through "giving." The recipients of our services are not the only beneficiaries; by the very

act of giving or providing services we assume a superior role. This role, in the extreme, can be almost a "Godlike" experience.

2. Our needs for authority can be, to some extent, answered by our role. In Indian health we are working with groups of people who, because of past experiences, show great dependency. For this reason it is relatively easy to assume a paternalistic role in most of our relationships. It is much easier to "tell" the patient or the tribal council member what to do than to work with him and encourage him to make his own decisions.
3. We tend to rationalize both our failures and successes. Because of many years' experience with lack of success to point to, when we do achieve success there is a strong tendency to credit this to our "superior" performance. Conversely, there is an equal tendency to identify failure with the "inferior" performance of the Indian participants.
4. We tend to rationalize our unwillingness to initiate new programs, particularly when we are insecure in the new situation. This is particularly true in reference to "meetings" of all types. Because our prior educational experience, in most instances, did not provide us with an opportunity to conduct meetings and to work in small groups—plus the fact that we all have experienced "gripe sessions"—we justify our inability to have meetings or to attend meetings on the grounds that "we are too busy doing the more important things, such as conducting clinics, treating patients, etc." Consequently, we don't have time for these "extra activities." It should be pointed out that the busiest, most overworked individual does find the time to do the things he *desires* to do.
5. We are unrealistic in setting our goals and are unable to properly measure our progress. The majority of us are products of an environment that measures most things in fantastic amounts. Billions of dollars, thousands of miles per hour, faster than sound, etc. Our scale of success uses quantitative rather than qualitative measurements. In Indian health we are trying to resolve problems that, in many cases, have existed for hundreds of years. Our objectives of necessity are long range and our measurements are qualitative. We must learn to properly measure our successes, adding up our small gains, realistically evaluating progress within a framework that is meaningful. We must remember that cents makes dollars, inches make miles, and ounces add up to pounds.

Values

Most, if not all, of the problems that occur in our relations with Indian beneficiaries stems from a basic conflict of values found in both cultures.

With few exceptions, we, as members of the dominant culture, conform to and strongly support accepted middle-class values. Conversely, we tend to suppress, discourage, and even destroy values that oppose ours. We get along best with members of certain minority groups who "think like we do," i.e., have accepted our way of life and conform to most of the same values that we do.

It is not the intent of this outline to suggest that we change our values or that we change the values of the Indian people to conform to ours. It is the intent to present objective information about these different values, to promote understanding and, we hope, respect.

Indian values that conflict with ours:

It must be recognized that when we speak of "Indian" we are making a broad generalization. There is no "Indian" culture *per se*. In Arizona alone there are 14 different tribal groups representing many different linguistic families. Some of these tribal groups are as different culturally as the Japanese are from the French. However, recognizing that we are making generalizations, there are basic similarities found among Indian values that we are able to describe.

The following description by Robert A. Roessel, Jr.[1] of the basic conflict of values between Indians and non-Indians is, in the opinion of the author, one of the best descriptions found:

". . . . Space does not permit a complete listing of the differences in values between Indians and non-Indians, but the following are among the most evident:

Cooperation—The Indian believes in working together and sharing with one another. *Competition*—We non-Indians believe this is the foundation stone in the growth of our nation.

Giving—The respected Indian is not one who keeps, but one who gives and shares with others; no one starves unless all starve. *Saving*—We believe that one must save today so he can enjoy tomorrow.

Lack of time consciousness—The Indian is not a slave to time. He has all the time he needs and is in no hurry. "Indian time" means an 8 o'clock meeting may not start until 10. *Time consciousness*—We are clock and calendar watchers; everything we do is controlled by time.

The present—The Indian takes no thought for the future, so he rarely feels anxious. He lives moment by moment. *The future*—Many of our actions are based on hopes for the future. We work hard now so we can enjoy a vacation later.

Religion is life—Every part of life is a part of religion. The Indian finds it easier to practice his religion than to preach it. *Religion is a segment of life*—We give one hour or one day, or parts of every day to our religion, but do not feel it should enter into every facet of our lives.

Harmony with nature—The Indian believes one must live in harmony with nature to be healthy or to have successful crops. Disastrous events result when the harmony is destroyed. *Conquest over nature*—We believe we can and should control nature. We seed the clouds, build dams, unlock the atom. We are masters of our fate.

The problem of understanding different ways of life is world wide, and today we are constantly being made aware of these conflicts in values. As a nation we have been trying to understand the American Indian for nearly 300 years, and with a singular lack of success. I submit that an important reason for our failure lies in our unwillingness to discover and respect the Indian's set of values. . . ."

Indian values that are similar to ours:

There are many similar values that most Indians and non-Indians have. An awareness of the similarity is important in that we will be more readily accepted by the Indian people if we reinforce these values in our every day relationships with Indian beneficiaries.

1. *Sense of humor*—The Indian people, in general, have a delightful sense of humor.

2. *Love of children*—The Indian is not a demonstrative person; however, his love for children is as great as that of non-Indians.

3. *Humility*—Unquestionably, one of the strongest values expressed by Indians.

4. *Respect*—The longer one works with Indians the more aware one becomes of the deep respect they have for one another and those whom they recognize as friends.

5. *Trust*—Surprisingly enough, even after the Indian has had innumerable opportunities to develop a great distrust of all non-Indians, he exhibits great trust in those he respects.

In addition, the Indian is honest, loyal, courageous, patient and generous, all values found in our middle class society.

Approaches to Good Tribal Relations

Understanding. As stated frequently in this outline, understanding is basic for good tribal relations. Understanding implies an objective view of the situation or the problem concerned. We don't have to accept a controversial viewpoint, but we *must* avoid being judgmental in our relations with people whose values differ from ours.

Respect. Respect comes with understanding. The more contacts we have with our Indian beneficiaries, in both social and professional activities, the greater the development of understanding and respect. When we become aware of the beautiful philosophy that most Indian people have, it is difficult to understand why so few of us really respect the Indian people with whom we work. If we placed ourselves in a similar environment, having identical problems that most Indian beneficiaries face daily, how many of us would survive?

Identification (recognition). Probably the greatest, single, most important need found in all humans is that of identification. All of us need to be recognized, to be identified by our peers and superiors. As children this need is so great that we seek attention even though it means punishment for us. It is basic that if this need is not satisfied in a positive fashion, e.g., to be identified as worthwhile, contributing members of society, we will accept a negative identification instead; the delinquent, anti-social, criminal element in our society falls into this category.

In a socially depressed population group such as the American Indians, the need for identification is just as strong as that found in other population groups. However, because of the passive, non-aggressive role played by most Indians, because of the obvious lack of understanding and the disrespect shown by many non-Indians who live near or even work with Indian groups, the image that the Indian individual has and his Indian peers have of themselves is a reflection of the identification that the non-Indians form. If you were aware that many of the authorities with whom you had contact identified you as lazy, ignorant, dirty, insolent, drunken—if you sensed and frequently experienced the hostility of your non-Indian neighbors, how would you react? Remember also that you have had experiences that conclusively demonstrated that if you wished to survive, you had better sublimate your aggressions. The Indian is fully aware of, and all too often has passively accepted, this negative identification. Even more, he has learned to survive and exist in a covertly hostile environment. When given an opportunity to demonstrate his worth through association with people who understand, respect, and have a positive image of him, he has fantastic success. In order to survive, we all develop special senses to aid us. The Indian has a built-in sensitivity and an instinctive awareness of how we identify him. It is natural that he will react to us accordingly.

Confidence. A feeling of confidence is usually developed as the result of successful experiences. Individuals who have had little opportunity to participate in successful, meaningful activities have, of necessity, built up defenses against repeated failures. The Indian protects himself by withdrawing. If an Indian is told by authorities that something can't be done, if he is refused service in a clinic or hospital, if he is told to come back later, he doesn't ask "why"? He just passively accepts the refusal and withdraws. Tribal leaders who question, who challenge authoritative sources, are the exception rather than the rule. When this problem of passive acceptance of refusal by authorities is discussed with tribal leaders and individuals, it is apparent that this fatalistic attitude developed as a result of innumerable experiences of refusal by authorities.

When we are able to communicate to the Indians with whom we have contact that we *have confidence* in their ability to do the things we are suggesting, that we respect them, that we have developed an understanding and an interest in them as worthwhile human beings, the progress that is possible under these circumstances is remarkable. Conversely, the status quo can be easily maintained if we don't provide these opportunities for the Indian to actively participate in our programs.

Patience. Probably one of the greatest problems faced by newcomers to Indian health results from their immediate cognition of the multitutde of problems faced by the Indian people with whom they will work. Also, because of past experiences, most new staff have well developed concepts of how to resolve many, if not most, of these problems. As most new staff are strongly motivated to help an obviously depressed group of people, considerable energy is directed toward this objective. Great frustrations are developed through the apparent rejection of these offers of assistance by the Indian people and, frequently, staff who have worked long with Indians. Most newcomers to Indian health are appalled by the laissez faire attitude adopted by most Indian residents. With the rejection of these new ideas by the Indians with whom they work, it is relatively easy to build up defenses as to why these proposals fail. Unfortunately, the Indian resident frequently gets the blame.

When we, the members of the dominant culture, attempt to initiate new programs aimed at resolving problems that frequently are of hundreds of years' duration, we assume that because the problem is so obvious to us that it must be as obvious to the people with whom we work. We fail to recognize that most of the tribal groups with whom we work have, until very recently existed in a primitive physical environment that has been relatively unchanged since the initial contact with non-Indians four hundred years previously. Even more important, we fail to recognize that our so-called civilized environment did not emerge overnight, that a process of evolution lasting hundreds of years was needed to initiate even minor changes.

Change is occurring. The Indian people are most responsive to many of the recommendations, suggestions, and demonstrations that public health staff are providing. However, we must recognize that we live in a democratic society, that the choice of acceptance or rejection is that of the Indian, that we can't legislate attitude change; it is an educational process. For this reason progress is, and will continue to be, slow.

Conclusions

It is extremely difficult to evaluate attitude change. Most of our evaluative measurements are quantitative rather than qualitative. How much weight can we give to a smile? A nod of recognition? Conversely, how do we evaluate a scowl? A sullen, hostile response?

The variables that are present in the Indian health program are great, and in order to document good tribal relations we are faced with a multitude of variables that we cannot ignore. The increased budget and staff, improved facilities and better housing are all factors that have had an impact on the increased utilization of services and greater acceptance of the program by the Indian people.

However, the staff in the program are quick to indicate that the sociocultural and emotional needs of the Indian beneficiaries must be resolved before the health status of the Indian people can approach the level of the non-Indian population.

There is no question that the emotional climate found at facilities where good tribal relations exist is much improved over that found at facilities where tribal relations are poor. The response, acceptance and interest shown by the reservation residents is a good indicator of this.

* * *

Reference

[1] Roessel, Robert A. Jr., "Indians Vanishing? ASU Says 'No'," *Arizona Statesman*, Vol. XXI, No. 4:3 (Sept.), 1961.

Comanche Way

Truett L. Hilliard

Llano Estacado is there
In spring wind blowing
Beyond the barrancas where
The crane cry wild.
There, down in canon shadow
Falling, crane-birds are winging
Beyond the rivers of tamarack, flying
Down to the banks of the Rio Peco.
Soon we, in the dust-wind blow
The wing-bone whistle
Winding to the river
Where the wild plums grow.
When hands
Boom the death drums deep,
We the Comanche
Ride to see
The lands
Where the tame hearts leap.
Here, where the hide camps are,
The camp fires burn
And the roast meats turn
On the wood spit bar,
While we from the red stones
Chip the flint spears sharp
And crack the white bones
In the gathering dark.
We will stretch from the hide
Of the bison that died
The skin-shield strong,
While old warriors dream
Of the young girls' scream,
And of wild days gone
On the dust wind trail
When they in the Rain-God hail,
Did let the warm blood flow
And the young men die
With the wild bird cry
Along the banks of the Rio Peco.
Young, the old were as we
And old they are as we shall be,
Dreaming to follow the
Sunfather's way
Bursting the turquoise sky
In west wind blowing
To where ride we
To split the skulls
And spill the brain,
To steal the girls
And to steal the grain.

What Are New Horizons?

Francis McKinley
Vol. 5, No. 1

As an American citizen, the Indian has open to him all of the opportunities, promise and hopes for success and achievements. It may be that he has in the past and in some cases still suffers certain handicaps in the realization of his dreams and aspirations. There are, however, a sufficient number of Indians who have overcome these handicaps and achieved distinction and greatness in whatever endeavor they have chosen so that we can say it is possible.

Although as a group the American Indians have been resistant to integration and assimilation, much to the chagrin of our fellow citizens, there is an ever increasing number of our Indian people who are finding their niche and place in the American society as ordinary, hard working, responsible citizens.

The population of the American Indians, according to the most recent statistics, is increasing rapidly, more than the rest of the population. The American Indians are a young group with over 50 per cent under the age of 21. The increasing population can be attributed to the growing improvement in living standards and health and sanitary conditions, in spite of that fact that Indians still suffer the worst housing, health and sanitary conditions in this country.

The educational level of American Indians is progressively on the upward curve. Yearly, more and more are graduating from high schools, entering colleges, technical institutes, vocational training schools, and a good many are successfully completing their courses.

As one travels around most of the reservations, bustling progress, intensive improvement, and innovating changes are noted. You can sense certain degrees of vibrant energy and almost feel the dynamism that is waiting to be unleashed. There are improved roads, new facilities — hospitals, schools, water works — new homes with TV aerials sticking rather incongruously out of shacks and cabins. A few weeks ago I was on the White Mountain Apache Reservation, enjoying the beauty and splendor of the Apaches' incomparable wilderness area, when I came upon an inaccessible spot where I was sure that not very many Apaches had trod. I had just lapsed into meditation when I was surprised by an intruder who told me he was a Neighborhood Youth Corps kid cleaning the wilderness area of weeds.

A few days later I was down in Canyon de Chelly on the Navajo Reservation, and again I had the urge to get away from it all for a spell and sought out an undisturbed spot, a haven for Chindis where I knew no Navajos dared trespass, when again I was startled by another presence. A bright, innocent face peered at me from among the boulders, and I said, "I suppose you are another one of those NYC guys?" To which he answered, "no" and went on his way carrying a pick. So you see, you have a new breed of cats, to borrow Brenda Brush's favorite figure of speech, roaming and working on every corner of Indian reservations.

I mention some of the more obvious improvements and progress today among Indians and I could enumerate a great many more. But those I have mentioned will suffice as a sample.

Now, what are some of the circumstances that are making a noticeable and more significant dent into the deplorable and aggravating conditions that have so marked the Indian citizens of this country? First, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is doing about as good a job as has been done any time in history in meeting the problems head on, particularly in its traditional areas of concern such as land management and improvement and other custodial and maintenance responsibilities. I certainly think that Commissioner Nash and his staff deserve a well-earned commendation for many of their recent efforts, particularly in providing improvements in housing. The BIA has some very splendid vocational training and educational programs. Its scholarship programs, a real aid to college and university-bound students, are outstanding. I wish that there could be more of them. The Indian Division of the United States Public Health Service has made outstanding inroads into ridding the people of death dealing diseases and crippling illnesses. Dr. Carruth Wagner and his staff deserve our show of appreciation. Other government agencies such as the Federal Housing Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Department of Labor and its Manpower Development Training and the Department of Commerce and the Area Redevelopment Act are just a few who have contributed recently to the many improvements on Indian reservations.

The second significant aspect of the new horizon for American Indians, which shows promise of contributing to even greater dimensions in the overall prospects for improvements in Indian life, in this country's recent concern for the plight of minority citizens in their struggles for equal rights and opportunities so long denied them. I speak of the civil rights movement and the achievements that have been made recently to rid the shameful hypocrisy that has existed. Certainly, the American Indians will benefit from these triumphs.

Accompanying the historical changes that will assure all Americans of the right to participate equally in the opportunities afforded them by their great country and its government, is President Johnson's program for a Great Society. Spearheaded by the anti-poverty programs, an all-out effort is being made to break the cycle of poverty. Even though the growing pains of this rather remarkable and amazing effort are often intolerable and exasperating, there are growing signs that significant achievement will be made. The American Indians are on the bottom insofar as deprivation is concerned among underprivileged groups, and here again, there certainly are opportunities that can work to the advantage of Indians.

The third aspect of the new horizons that should be mentioned is the growing value of the Indian country, particularly the large reservations. The tremendous upsurge in population in this country in the past two decades with greater increases predicted makes the Indian country the least unspoiled and untrammeled areas for recreation. Opportunities are great for enterprises devoted to commercial recreation and tourism. Some Indian tribes are already realizing the fruits of these activities.

The fourth aspect of new horizons, that I particularly want to mention, is that all human beings are malleable, flexible, adaptable and adjustable to whatever conditions that they may face in their environment. The ability to adjust to change is one of the distinguishing traits of humans. The American Indians, no less than any other people, have these traits. Sometimes, we have stereotype notions about American Indians, such as they do not change or do not want to change. I think it is to their credit that they survive and exist today, retaining much of their culture, language, customs, and personalities, simply because they were able to change, adjust and swerve much like a well trained cow pony, in spite of all kinds of adversities and trials. Along with his fellow men, in this country and throughout the world, the American Indians must face change. It is inevitable. The great scientific and material progress have accelerated so greatly that its manipulators and exploiters have forgotten about how they will live with each other and much like many city folks don't care or do not want to know their neighbors.

Insofar as human relationships are concerned, the American people could be worse than the so-called primitive folk. On this score, I venture to say that American Indians, being somewhat old-fashioned and "square" in many ways, are in some respects way ahead of their sophisticated fellow Americans. The American Indian still retains some of his values which are centered around the individual, the family, and people oriented traditions. The American Indian has his ideals, which are not very different from those professed by our fellow Americans, and he lives closer to those ideals. This is partly the reason why he is at the bottom of the totem pole insofar as well-being, success, achievement, and prosperity are concerned. You cannot be a prosperous businessman if you believe in sharing all you have with others; you cannot have social success and achievement if you put little weight on prestige and status; you cannot do very well in school when competition that insures academic achievement is alien to your values.

Now what do these seemingly antithetical values have to do with what are believed to be the ingredients for success in America? I believe that many American Indians still have the foundations and cornerstones for building a life commensurate with the fast changing society without sacrificing their individual integrity, the sense of balance with God's universe, and not being overwhelmed by material gain. They can have a happy, satisfied life, prosper, and achieve success with their fellow Americans, giving and taking of those things that will assure contentment and a comfortable life.

Now that I have done my Chamber of Commerce act, I want to do a switch and look at what "New Horizons for American Indians" means from another angle. What does the average reservation Indian think about the current brand of "new horizons" for Indians? Throughout our American history the new hopes and aspirations for American Indians have been to literally sweep him under the rug along with the rest of the unsightly and unwanted debris. Viewing new horizons from his position, what would the average Indians say? I have known a great many Indians in my time and I am sure that you have. Now, out of all these acquaintances, I have come up with a composite Indian and this is what he might have to say about himself and his world view.

I, as an American Indian, exist in sort of a dualism. I have my American self which is me most of the time. Then I have my Indian self. My Indian self is often unduly suspicious. I don't often buy, although I will go through the motions of buying. I will accept anything that is given me, free of course: my old gathering instinct. I don't often know what to do with what I often accept, so it accumulates in my backyard, both mentally and physically.

My American self is my intellectual and educated self. I like things, material things. I also like certain intangible things like status, prestige, honors, success, achievement, and winning, so I call these the cravings of my selfish self. Now I have material things and intangible things. I don't know what else to do with them, so I revert back to my Indian self. I didn't quite desire all the things that my American self said were important, and therefore I find some comfort in rather contemptuously viewing what I thought I prized because truthfully they didn't amount to very much. I'd rather forget about all of the material trappings, the effort that is required to get them, and the maintenance that goes with them, trying to keep up pretense. I'd rather look up my friends, make small talk, laugh and joke, socialize with others like me, or just sit and ponder at ease with the world around me and maybe wonder about people and how they came to be. Seemingly small things, ordinary, everyday happenings of life are important to me. Affairs of people in my immediate presence are important. The outer world, peopled by strangers whose ways and kind of life are puzzling to me, is remote, inaccessible, unfriendly, and uncomfortable.

Confronted with this kind of an attitude what are the reactions of the countless numbers of helpers, both official and unofficial, who have tried to improve and enrich the lives of the American Indians over the years? The reactions are varied, ranging from utter contempt to sentimental indulgence and ubiquitous paternalism. How many of you have read or heard bitter denunciation and ridicule of the impossible Indians from frustrated Indian workers, the smug, superior judgment of 'I told you so' experts in social sciences, and the faded look of resignation of eight to five clock-watchers who at one time went to work for Indians with a bright gleam of hope and idealism, anxious to meet the challenges of leading disadvantaged people to a better life?

Taking into consideration the reactions and attitudes of the American Indians to most of the efforts expended in his behalf, the proper question in talking about new horizons for Indians might be, "Whose idea of new horizons for American Indians are we talking about?" Now this query might sound strange, but when you consider and reflect upon the place of the American Indians in the scheme of things in this country, both past and present, the question does make some sense.

Do new horizons for American Indians mean the Bureau of Indian Affairs' plans for more appropriations from the Congress of the United States? More money for a bigger and better staff? More public works? A new fence around the school? Better and more exhaustive soil surveys? Or do new horizons mean the American public's notions about a melting pot so that the American Indians are braised, broiled, boiled, fried, digested, assimilated, integrated into the body of first class citizenship? Do new horizons mean the religious idea of making the Indian a Christian and forgetting about his pagan, heretic ideas? Or do they mean the average American's idea of a shining, chromeplated, gadget-strewn, neon-lit middle-class paradise? Do new horizons mean the change of personality characteristics, values, and customs so that the American Indian becomes a red carbon copy of his rugged, individualistic, exploitive, belligerent, competitive, ulcer-ridden white brother? Could new horizons mean the educators' cliche, "give them knowledge, skills, and techniques" and presumably all will be well?

Now what is wrong with these plans, goals, objectives, etc., for the American Indian? Nothing. They are all fine — according to the one who makes them. If the American Indian is somewhat evasive and hesitant about agreeing to the beautiful swaths of color painted on the new horizons envisioned by his friends and acts like he sees instead motley greys and blacks, is it any wonder? The next question is: What do you want? Don't you have any future plans? Don't you want progress?

It is my opinion that a great bulk of the American Indians desires and wants change. Although the so-called traditional Indian, the conservative, the long hair, the blanket one, or whatever name is tagged on him because he appears to resist and remain unimpressed with the changing society around him, appears to remain in stagnation, I feel that it is this group, usually the most deprived and disadvantaged, which is most ready for change. I believe that they always have wanted a change. The only trouble is that no one has paid much attention to them.

A great many American Indians have sought new horizons, only to suffer disappointment and bitter disillusionment, because those who were in position to help them have been too busy developing and working out their own kind of new horizons for the Indians. I can remember that during my younger days it was the older Indian leaders, many of whom could neither speak nor write English, who were most desirous of having the younger generation progress and they recognized education as the first requisite to advancement. They are the ones who had the vision and the dream of an enlightened Indian citizenry who would protect and preserve the good in Indian life and at the same time enjoy the benefits and the good life of the surrounding society.

What has happened and what is happening now with respect to the growth and development of the American Indians? I believe that it is the long, enduring policy of expediency — the black and white effect, the either/or approach, you do or else admonitions — the kinds of attention the American Indian has always received under different kinds of approaches. They are known by various names such as removal, annihilation, civilization, termination, etc. There is a lack of continuum in the growth and development pattern. There is no increment of progressive changes. It is from one extreme to another. As an example, you have very poor, desperately poor Indians, and then you have a fairly affluent group.

One observer has said that there is not a middle class among American Indians on a typical reservation. I say that you have a very poor class, which is obvious, and you do have a middle class among Indians. What you lack among Indians is the upper class if your criteria is measured in terms of achievement and intellectual and technical competence. You may have this upper class if you use income as a measuring stick. The reason why I mention these social strata of classes is to point out again that the lower deprived groups among Indians are demanding change, but it is the thin layer of middle-class Indians who often are the ones who resist change, particularly the newly affluent who are occupying leadership positions and administrative jobs in the tribal heirarchy. It is this minority group who have achieved security and status who are ones that are often not responding to the appeals of their fellow Indians because they do not want to "rock the boat." Like the typical middle-class burgher, they have it made and look askance at the poor. This same analogy might also be applied to the representatives and employees of other organizations that are headquartered and working in Indian communities.

Now that I have made an analysis of what I believe to be some of the problems of leading, and lending a hand, to the majority of the American Indians in their difficult task of adjusting to and coping with the changing times, what do I suggest in way of an approach? I think that there is a glimmer of hope in the kind of reasoning behind the Office of Economic Opportunity philosophy. The Act, particularly Title II which involves community action programs, stresses the need to get the full participation and involvement of the poor. In this case it means nearly all of the American Indians since they are very poor.

I would like to make reference to the efforts of so-called reformist groups of the 1920's who were concerned with the plight of the American Indians. These groups, among them enlightened government officials, were pointing out the injustices of past federal government policy, particularly to those laws and regulations which prevented the Indians from practicing their religion, traditions, ceremonies and certain customs.

Dr. Lyman Tyler does an excellent job of summarizing the efforts of the reformist groups in his study of Indian policies, which served to provide the data and thus the support for the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. I call your attention to one statement which seems to indicate the kinds of approaches which are needed in dealing with the present day Indians and it reads as follows: "The new Indian policy must be built around the group-dynamic potentials of Indian life. This meant an ending of the epoch of forced atomization, cultural prescription, and administrative absolution, and an affirmative experimental search for the power abiding with Indians waiting for release through the enfranchisement or the recreation of Indian grouphood."

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was a milestone in Indian affairs and it finally recognized the American Indian's right to form his own self-government, manage his own affairs, make his own decisions, and build a foundation around his culture, values, traditions, and ceremonies as a springboard to whatever kind of life that he decided was best for the future generations of Indians.

Although the so-called IRA did provide a certain amount of self-government, establish tribes where there had been only clans and family groups, and set up tribal councils, it did not grant a full measure of self-autonomy. It also did not go far enough. The reservation of certain powers in tribal constitutions and charters with the Secretary of the Interior has prevented the full participation and involvement of Indians at the grass roots level. In other words, it has not reached the dynamic potential of the Indians that is lodged within the family, clan and community structures. It only succeeded in establishing tribal governments with limited powers, subject to veto of federal government officials. Although provisions have been made to amend the constitution and charters of the various tribes, and which would assume those powers now reserved to the Secretary of the Interior, not very many tribes have felt the need to make the changes.

Part of the reason for not assuming further powers of self-government is that the involvement and participation of many of the Indians have not been solicited or attempted. It would seem to me that the present programs that are now being proposed under the Office of Economic Opportunity may be the stepping stones toward getting the full measure of involvement from the Indians and may thereby facilitate the adjustment and coping with change which I feel the Indians want.

In closing I would like to quote from John Collier's writings in which I think he is pointing out in his eloquent way the need to be aware and conscious of the dynamic potential of Indian societies: "Colonizer, missionary, moralist, idealist, crusader for causes, it is to the hurt of all that you love, to the defeat of your own purpose and the ruin of men, if you plunge toward your aims in terms of individuals, aggregations of individuals, or external material results, ignorantly or impatiently by-pass the society."

First Snowfall

By Tommy Smith
(Navajo)

The snow has come at last;
Coming down in soft flakes,
Caressing my face with tenderness
As if it were telling me,
"You are the first I've touched."
And, as I walk along,
The snowflakes seem to sing
A song that has never been heard,
A song that has never been sung,
Unheard!
Unsung?
Except in my heart.

Informal Power Structures Within Indian Communities

James E. Officer

Vol. 3, No. 1

Ten years ago the University of North Carolina published a book by Professor Floyd Hunter, then a member of the North Carolina faculty, which was called *Community Power Structure.* In this book, Professor Hunter advanced the thesis that the formal political organization of American cities is often supplemented, and occasionally even subordinated, by an informal structure composed of influential individuals who, working behind the scenes, may come to control local affairs so effectively as to overrule the will of a majority of the people on major issues. Hunter's book captured the fancy of many American sociologists, some of whom set out to test the thesis in other locations. I would like to discuss this thesis in terms of Indian affairs.

In some thirty minutes or so of discussion, I think I will be able to demonstrate that within Indian communities, too, there are *informal* power structures — hidden to the casual observer — which an administrator must be aware of if he is to succeed in carrying out programs of the types with which all of you are most concerned.

Those of us who are administrators of "people oriented" programs are forever on the lookout for shortcuts in our attempts to gain the cooperation of those whom we wish to help. Where we can deal with one individual instead of a dozen or a hundred, it speeds up the accomplishment of our work. Therefore, when trying to achieve a quick decision from a family, or a community, we consciously or unconsciously set out to determine how decisions are made and by whom. In playing this game of "take me to your leader" we often use some personal variation of the "panel of experts" method which I employed in Tucson.

On Indian reservations, commonly and logically, we look to tribal governing bodies as important loci of authority and influence and, while for some kinds of problems this choice is a happy one, there are occasions when we find the results disappointing. Failure to consult with elected tribal officials can usually doom a project, but such consultation is much less likely to assure its success.

I find that many people who administer programs on Indian reservations seem unconcerned about the kinds of native political organizations possessed by the various tribes, and often ignorant of the genesis of modern tribal governments, even though a knowledge of both helps one to understand the present-day power structures of Indian communities.

There is a basic fallacy concerning Indian leadership of which nearly all are guilty. For purposes of discussion, we can refer to it as the "fallacy of the chief."

'Too Many Chiefs'

Sometime in the pioneer era, we fell victim to the belief that the prevailing pattern of political organization among all American Indians was hereditary dictatorship; in other words, that a ruler from a particular lineage exercised unlimited power over a group of obedient subjects. This stereotype may have derived from observation of a few such autocratic tribes as those powerful ones in the Central Valley of Mexico, in Peru, and in the Southeastern United States; or from our awareness of the fact that war and hunting parties — those which we most frequently encountered — were usually led by individuals who seemed to have a great deal of authority over their companions.* In any event and for whatever reasons, it became a part of our conventional wisdom that every Indian tribe had to have a chief and that every chief had to be omnipotent among his fellow tribesmen. So ingrained is this belief that today the average tourist, when visiting an Indian reservation, is likely to ask "which one is the chief?" when introduced to a group of local residents. After several centuries of resisting the stereotype, many Indians capitulated to the extent of using the term "chief" to refer to almost everyone with any authority whatsoever.** This attitude may have contributed to the now common expression "too many chiefs and not enough Indians."

Speaking of leadership among American Indians, the late famous anthropologist Robert Lowie remarked: "(They) rarely concentrated executive power, but at the time of a communal buffalo hunt the police were in supreme control . . . The North American Indians had 'chiefs' but often these were mere advisors and virtually never dictators. Except in emergencies, they had no power over the lives and property of their fellows . . . A man of strong personality could assert himself, but his influence was not rooted in office, so that it died with himself."

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*It may also have emerged from rationalization based on our desire to find a single individual with whom we could negotiate quickly for acquisition of a tribal estate.

**And, in some cases, mockingly, to refer to persons with no influence at all!

In Lowie's comment, there is much of interest concerning the pre-Columbian Americans. To begin with, the quotation emphasizes that even where Indian groups had chiefs or leaders who were generally recognized, these persons were far from dictators. In many instances, they were only advisors or counsellors. For example, among the Paiutes of the Great Basin, they were known as "talkers" and were fatherly individuals who were a far cry from our usual concept of a chief. On the other hand, the Lowie comment emphasizes that under certain circumstances, individuals in times of crisis might rise to positions of considerable power. However, their power was individual and the degree of their authority dependent upon the situation. Furthermore, they could not bequeath this kind of authority to an heir, although the wealth accumulated through the use of it might pass from father to son.

There were some groups which had rather rigid class systems and the principal leaders came from the most favored social stratum. The Indians of the Pacific Northwest, for example, had two classes: freemen and slaves; and, within the class of freemen, certain chiefly lineages were recognized. However, the heads of these lineages exercised authority only over their slaves and over freemen who belonged to the same lineages. Their power was almost invariably confined to a local group, although that group might be linked through a loose confederacy with others nearby. Furthermore, an elaborate concept of noblesse oblige existed among these Indians and persons who headed chiefly lineages were expected to be generous with those less well-to-do than themselves.

The Unusual Five Tribes

The Iroquois Confederation, the most elaborate and complex of American Indian political organizations, came into existence in 1570, only a short time before the arrival of the Pilgrims. The council for the Iroquois league consisted of fifty representatives whose positions were hereditary within particular family groups scattered among the five tribes which were parties to the confederation. It is of interest to note that the deliberations of the Iroquois league were limited to matters of inter-tribal interest, were open to the public, and required unanimous agreement before decisions became final. Thus, despite its hereditary aspects, the league was not a despotic organization.

Now in addition to the fact that individual Indians seldom exercised much authority over the persons or property of other Indians, the scope of any particular leader's influence was likely to be limited to some unit smaller in size than the so-called tribe. In fact, in most instances it did not go beyond the extended family or band. Even among such highly organized Indian groups as those which comprised the Iroquois Confederation, the most powerful leaders were the heads of the village clans — a system not unlike that of the Hopis.

If we use the term "tribe" in the sense of an ethnic group with overall political structure, it is a misnomer in the case of most Indian groups at the time of contact with the whites and is still incorrect in the case of many. For example, the Hopis never recognized any overall tribal authority until they accepted the Indian Reorganization Act in the 1930's. The same is true of the Crows and the many bands of the Dakota or Sioux. The Cheyennes are not now a single tribe; nor are the Shoshones, the Paiutes, the Chippewas, the Pimas, and the Cherokees.

In a few instances today, the term "tribe" (as defined above) is applicable, as in the case of the Navajos, the modern Crow Indians, and the Papagos. In other instances, parts of one ethnic group may be settled on several reservations and subject to several different political authorities. This is true of such groups as the Pimas, the Northern Paiutes, the Shoshones, the Arapahos, the Cheyennes, the Sioux, the Chippewa, and the Crees. The fact that all the members of an ethnic group are not under the same political authority and attached to the same reservation is not necessarily so tragic as it sounds, since the probability is that they were never all subject to the same authority anyway. This, of course, is not true in the case of tribes whose populations were split through historical circumstances such as the Northern and Southern Cheyennes, the Nez Perce of Idaho, and those of the Colville Reservation in Washington, the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches of New Mexico and those of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and the Cherokees of North Carolina and those of Oklahoma.

Types of Power Structures

It helps a great deal in understanding the power structures of modern American Indians if we keep in mind the pre-contact aspects of Indian organization, some of which I have just described. Let me synthesize the most common: (1) The largest political unit commonly recognized was kinship-based and might include the members of an entire band, one of several clans within a particular band, or a particular clan found in several related bands. It was seldom an entire ethnic group (tribe), and even less frequently a a confederation of tribes, as among the Iroquoian-speakers of New York State. (2) The head of the kin-based group usually had only limited authority, although in emergencies — such as during a period of warfare or drought — the extent of his authority might be considerably increased. (3) In the case of political units larger than the extended family, such as an entire tribe, leaders with special skills or courage were often acknowledged and given considerable power in specific situations such as war or during hunting activities, but this power was chronic, rather than constant, and was not transmissible through inheritance to other family members. Very often the person to whom others looked in times of crisis was a skilled healer, diviner, or religious leader. (4) In arriving at decisions — whether in a tribe, band, or family — it was common for adults to confer together and to strive for unanimous agreement. The procedure of holding general councils of the entire adult membership was well established among the North

American Indians. At these councils each individual was given a chance to express his opinion and was expected to do so openly. While the members of a particular family might permit one of their number to serve as spokesman for the entire group at a general council, they would not allow their choice of a spokesman to be dictated by outsiders.

The reservation system destroyed authoritarian patterns based on hunting, warfare and other emergencies, and the work of Christian missionaries and medical doctors undermined the authority of medicine men and religious leaders. The role of the war chief or the hunt chief was converted in a few cases to that of tribal policeman, but it disappeared in many instances. More likely to survive were patterns of leadership based on the extended family, and for groups of such families, the general council remained important. Both of the latter still influence the power structures of Indian reservations.

In the era when most of the large reservations were established —that is, between the Civil War and 1900 — the federal government came to play an increasingly important role in the lives of Indians. It was at this time that the Indian agent came into prominence, in many instances gathering unto himself so much authority that he became a virtual dictator over the Indians under his jurisdiction. He decided when they could leave the reservation and where they could go; what outsiders would be permitted to come onto the reservation and what they could do while there. He distributed food rations and clothing among the Indians subject to his authority. During this period, agents provided Indians with a far more powerful kind of leadership than most had ever known before. Except for some aspects of family organization, traditional patterns of group control were largely destroyed within a few years after the establishment of reservations. The Allotment Act of 1887, which individualized Indian property — for most tribes a completely alien concept — struck a further blow at group solidarity. (Even today, the groups whose lands were only partially allotted, or not allotted at all, are more likely to have strong feelings of unity and to produce effective leadership than are those whose lands were entirely, or almost entirely, divided among the individual members.)

While the federal government in the 1880's and 1890's could not have predicted all the ways in which its policies would affect traditional patterns of Indian organization, there is little doubt today that it was the intention to destroy the most conspicuous of these patterns. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morgan in 1890 remarked that "the settled policy of the government (is) to break up reservations, destroy tribal relations, settle Indians upon their own homesteads, incorporate them into the national life, and deal with them not as nations or tribes or bands, but as individual citizens."

Southwestern Patterns Remained

Except in the Southwest, where few reservations were allotted and where the white population was not initially as great a threat to Indians as in other areas, the period between 1870 and 1930 was one in which old customs of social regulation and old patterns of leadership outside the extended family largely disappeared. The general council persisted, but more as a vehicle for discussion than for decision, since the really big group decisions were frequently made *for* the Indians by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Often, general councils served only the purpose of providing the "boss" farmer or the Indian Agent a means by which to inform reservation residents what the Bureau had already decided to do. There was very little real consultation with the Indians, and seldom was the issue of getting their consent even raised.

About the only part of the country in which the traditional patterns of social regulation were permitted to remain relatively intact was here in the Southwest, where such groups as the Papagos, the Hopis, the Apaches, and the Navajos continued much as before. Among these tribes, the band composed of one or more extended families was the largest true political unit and initially there was little need for recognizing more extensive political authority. Old methods of subsistence — such as primitive farming, hunting and gathering — continued, supplemented by new techniques: stock raising, more advanced agriculture, and occasional wage work in nearby communities. In the early reservation period, some rations were also provided certain of the Southwestern tribes by the federal government.

The 1920's constituted a period during which the Indian policies of the United States Government underwent what we today characterize as an "agonizing reappraisal." Considerable national attention was focused on the problem shortly after World War I as a result of actions taken by the Board of Indian Commissioners to investigate sales of Indian lands. Further publicity resulted from an attempt during the early 1920's to divest the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico of lands which they long had occupied and which had been invaded by squatters. Finally in 1926, Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, called upon the Institute for Government Research, better known today as the Brookings Institution, to conduct a thorough social and economic study of Indian conditions. The resulting report, which emerged in 1928, is popularly referred to as the Merriam Report and represents the most complete analysis of Indian affairs ever made in this country. Among other observations, the Merriam Report noted that, "The Indian Service has not appreciated the fundamental importance of family life and community activities in the social and economic development of a people. The tendency has been rather toward weakening Indian family life and community activities than toward strengthening them."

Indian Reorganization Act of 1934

As a result of the recommendations contained in the Merriam Report, far reaching Indian affairs legislation was enacted in 1934. Known today as the Indian Reorganization Act, this legislation, among other drastic changes in policy, directed the Secretary of the Interior "to assist Indian tribes in adopting written forms of government to exercise their inherent powers" and certain other specific powers given them by the Congress. Thus, new political organizations were established based more on the common American model than on anything out of the Indian past. These new organizations made provision for elected tribal governing bodies and officials. Instead of the band, family, or clan being the political unit, the new authority was extended to whole reservation communities. In some instances, this brought different ethnic groups under the same jurisdiction — as in the case of the Mohaves and Chemehuevis of the Colorado River Reservation, the "Three Affiliated Tribes" of the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, the Cheyennes and Arapahos of Oklahoma, and the several groups of the Colville Reservation in Washington. In other cases, it brought members of the same ethnic groups living on different reservations under different jurisdictions. The Shoshones, the Pimas, and the Cheyennes are good examples. In still other instances — as among the Hopis, the Navajos, and Papagos — it created overall tribal government for the first time.

Not only were the new patterns unfamiliar, but they often did not harmonize with such persisting patterns as the extended family and the general council. For example, many Indians were reluctant to permit elected tribal officers to act in their behalf and insisted on keeping them subject to the will of the whole tribe as that will might be expressed in a general meeting. Because they preferred to know how other Indians felt about major issues, they frequently resisted the idea of a secret ballot. When elected officers exercised control of business enterprises, they tended to choose their own kin as employees of these enterprises. When a man was elected to an official position, his relatives often descended on him, not only for jobs, but to share his salary. On most reservations, these are still perplexing problems and detract from the effectiveness of representative government. They constitute some of the reasons why simply selling a new idea to a governing body does not always insure its success. On the other hand, when we are frustrated by the inability of Indian governing bodies to act, we might keep in mind the fact that representative governments as we know them today are less than three decades old, lack a firm traditional base, and, in numerous cases, rely for their authorities on constitutional documents which have never been thoroughly understood by the bulk of the Indians and which often contain ambiguous provisions.

The diffused power distribution on many reservations poses serious problems for outsiders whose jobs require them to deal with Indian tribes. Before one can count on having strong support for a program, it is frequently necessary to discuss it individually and collectively with nearly every Indian in the area. It is unnecessary to point out that this is both frustrating and time consuming, and many of us have not the patience to do the task well.

General Council Continues To Prevail

I have mentioned several times that the general council was a decision-making body common to many American Indians and that it survives into the present. In the early period, when general councils were more than simply meetings dominated by the Indian Agents, the members ultimately reached agreement in one of two ways. Either participants continued discussions until everybody concurred in a course of action, or, in times of emergency such as war when decisions could not be postponed pending the achievement of unanimity, recognized leaders decided for the group; but only after hearing from everyone who wished to speak. Thus, whether or not the participants were allowed to vote on the final decision, they were permitted to voice their opinions. Those of you who have had many relations with modern Indian groups know that general meetings which are adjourned before all those who care to speak have done so are often resented by the Indian participants. There is a pattern for these meetings. Ordinarily, they begin very slowly and it is not unusual for an Indian Bureau employee or other outsider to conclude that no one has anything to say and that the meeting will be adjourned without action. Yet, if one has the patience to wait, the pace gradually quickens until a lively interchange of ideas takes place. Finally, all with the desire to contribute to the discussion offer their comments and the matter comes to a vote. At this stage, those who oppose a motion may refuse to vote on it at all, especially if they feel the opposing faction has more supporters than they. I often receive resolutions which appear to have been unanimously passed by a general council, but which in fact may have received fewer than half as many votes as there were participants in a given meeting. People who do not vote *for* an issue — whether they abstain or vote against it — often resent having to abide by it and insist that they should not be affected by the final decision since they did not themselves affirm it. A number of Indian groups — such as the Hopis here in the Southwest — are still divided over the issue of their constitution, those who voted against it or who did not participate in the constitutional election, insisting that they should not be bound by the vote of the others.

Other Types of Influence

Because of the importance of public meetings in Indian communities, a man's skill as an orator is often a major determinant of his ability to influence others. Thus, the outsider who is interested in defining centers of influence is well advised to find out which persons are unusually apt at oratory, especially in the tribal language. (A man who is too fluent in English, unless he also has skill in the Indian dialect, may have little influence at all.)

On the other hand, there are also many influential Indians who are not good orators. I am acquainted with one tribal chairman who has difficulty in expressing his thoughts clearly in either English or his native tongue. In this case, his prominence comes partly from the fact that he is a descendant of one of the last famous war chiefs of his tribe and partly from the fact that he has many relatives throughout the reservation. Heads of large, extended families and descendants of persons renowned in legend or tradition are also likely candidates for leadership statuses. Tribes which fought to the bitter end against the whites remember their war leaders better than any others and, if the period of conflict was long, may accord their most esteemed warriors a reverence amounting almost to deification.

The educated Indian who continues to practice tribal ways and who is not overtly aggressive in seeking elective or appointive office may come to exercise great influence over others. In this case, he assumes the advisory role which is consistent with the status of the leader in Indian tradition. The so-called "full bloods" on many reservations commonly rely upon one or more such persons for advice on matters which they do not fully understand. White men sometimes play a similar role through showing respect for tribal traditions and giving counsel only when called upon.

Religious leaders, such as priests, ministers, or church lay officials, are often highly respected, although their influence may not extend beyond their particular congregation. I remember once being told by a traditional Hopi, a priest in a native religious society, that he hoped the Indian Bureau would never send the Hopis a superintendent who was not a faithful church-goer. He said that a religious superintendent, no matter what his creed, would be more highly respected by the Hopis than a superintendent who was not.

The Indian pattern of talking things over and striving for unanimous agreement is one which the outsider — be he social worker, teacher, or Indian Bureau land operations officer — must keep in mind. If he does, there is likely to be less frustration when he finds a person reluctant to speak for the people from his election district. Indian parents often will not make decisions for their children until they have determined what the children want. Sometimes they will permit youngsters to do things which they know are not good for them simply because they believe in allowing children to make decisions for themselves.

Because of a feeling that all are entitled to share equally, it is often exceedingly difficult to sell Indians on a program designed to assist only a part of the population. Welfare programs with *need* criteria may fail to get tribal support. If one person receives general assistance because of need, others who cannot obtain it are often resentful. If free school lunches or free medical care are available for some, many Indians believe they should be available for all. Even relatively well-to-do Indians may receive surplus commodities, tribal scholarships, welfare payments, and other gratuities which, in American society, are usually given only to those who cannot provide for themselves.

I have spoken here today at considerable length about a number of things which may be of relatively minor interest to most of you. Nonetheless, I appreciate the opportunity to summarize a few of my observations about decision-making in Indian communities. My intention has not been Machiavellian; but rather to point up some of the behavioral patterns of American Indians with which you may already have become familiar, or which you may be exposed to in the future. I have generalized and over-simplified and I am sure there are a great many important things I have not said.

* * *

I Shall Not Want

by W. Dickenson

The cloud of dust signals that food is near
That clothes are near
That shelter is near.

I listen at night to turkeys
Rustling in their roost
And smack my lips.

Kerplunk! A ring of waves go out
(And no one threw a stone)
Old hard snout says he is ready for my net.

The trees hesitate to swing
So heavy they are with fruit
But I know where to tickle them.

In the middle of this richness
I find myself
And smile.

Traditional Requisites of Indian Communication:

Rhetoric, Repetition, Silence

Lynn R. Osborn

Vol. 12, No. 2

> And when the last Red Man shall have perished, and the memory of my tribe shall have become a myth among the White Men, these shores will swarm with the invisible dead of my tribe, and when your children's children think themselves alone in the field, the store, the shop, upon the highway, or in the silence of the pathless woods, they will not be alone. In all the earth there is no place dedicated to solitude. At night when the streets or your cities and villages are silent and you think them deserted, they will throng with the returning hosts that once filled them and still love this beautiful land. The White Man will never be alone.
>
> Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not powerless. Dead, did I say? There is no death, only a change of worlds.[1]

These eloquent phrases fell not from the lips of a Greco-Roman orator or an Oxford debater, but rather they were articulated by one whose people historically were vilified and scorned as being ignorant, non-communicative, pagan savages. Thus spoke Seattle, Chief of the Suquamish and Duwamish tribes, for whom the largest city in the Evergreen State of Washington now is named.

And, as we as educators address ourselves to the challenges and contrasts presented by American Indian students in our classes, it must be with enlightened awareness and an expanded appreciation of the peculiarly crucial role played by spoken communication in the development and advancement of Indian cultures. In this era of the "communication explosion," the electronic mass media, and sophisticated information retrieval systems, we must attempt to understand contemporary societies whose histories, religious practices, social mores, and traditions for thousands of years were recorded only in the human memory and transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth. This paper is a partial attempt in that direction.

Though shrouded in the mists of centuries of general apathy, racial prejudice, and scholarly disregard, the excellence in communication revealed by such Indian spokesmen as Seattle, Red Jacket, and Ten

Bears and their present-day counterparts in the persons of Vine Deloria, Jr., Scott Momaday, and Clyde Warrior (deceased) . . . to name but a few . . . cries out for our recognition.

Of equal importance in any effort to compare or contrast the communicative behavior of Indian and non-Indian students is an understanding of the listening capabilities and training of the former's ancestors. As Grinnell observed in commenting upon this subject:

". . . memorable events are retained only in the minds of the people, and are handed down by the elders to their children and by these again transmitted to their children, so passing from generation to generation. Until recent years, one of the sacred duties of certain elders of the tribes was the handing down of these histories to their successors. As they repeated them, they impressed upon the hearer the importance of remembering the stories precisely as told, and of telling them again exactly as he had received them, neither adding nor taking away anything. Thus, early taught his duty, each listener strove to perform it, and to impress on those whom he in turn instructed a similar obligation."[2]

Lacking, for the most part, viable written languages, such precision of listening and accuracy in retention and retelling were not simply idealistic goals for the Indian but pragmatic imperatives to his very survival! Thus, it was a matter of the utmost concern that these qualities be stressed to the extent of demanding perfection in their acquisition and exercise. This concern, though certainly diminished in recent years, still remains today among those tribes striving to retain the languages and oral traditions of their past.

Spencer, for example, found in his studies during the late 1950's that, "The idea was 'to get the story right.' If a raconteur deviated by as much as a word in his recital, his skill was considered dubious indeed. . . . The sense of personal integrity is so strong that unless a man feels he can be accurate, he prefers to keep silent."[3]

The Role of Silence

In addition to the qualities of excellence in verbal expression and listening already noted, a third aspect of traditional speech communication behavior should be considered by the teacher of American Indian students . . . that of the role of *silence*. As Shirley Witt, the Iroquois anthropologist, has stated it so well:

"For speech to have full meaning, it must also have silence. Silence is half of speech; speech is half of silence. It is not pause. Neither is it an interlude of anxiety glowing red and vicious. It is not a time of frantic groping for thoughts and words to express thoughts. Least of all is silence the brackets surrounding communication. Silence is the continuity which integrates ideas and words. And it is more. Silence is a thing of power. Beyond any utterance, the power of silence stands vast and awesome."[4]

Restrictions of space do not permit treatment of all the various factors which help to shape the communication personality which the Indian student brings with him to our classrooms. Therefore, only the three just mentioned will be elaborated upon.

Perhaps one of the most glaring myths regarding the American Indian which have been perpetuated in his historical treatment by the non-Indian is that of the "Silent Red Man." Portrayal of the Indian in both the print and electronic media over the years has reinforced the stereotyped image of a stoic, expressionless individual limited in vocabulary to a few grunts, an occasional "ugh," a "how" greeting now and then, and the classic "U-h-h-h, Kemo Sabe" uttered by Tonto. The fact of the matter is, Native American speakers excelled in the art of oratorical eloquence.

The Indian student comes to us with a profound philosophy and rich heritage of spoken communication for which we (and often the student himself) have little or no appreciation. These have been set forth by one contemporary Indian scholar in this manner:

"The spoken word contains a life all its own, an endless life. The spoken word does not fall to the ground, shatter, and turn to dust, in Indian comprehension. The spoken word is born, takes flight, and lives forever — always ready to be recalled if need be. And when words have the value of immortality, one is careful not to use them haphazardly or falsely. . . . In the great reluctance of Indian people to interrupt when another person is speaking one sees this respect for words. . . . The mark of a traditionalist in speaking is his extreme care in the choice of words he uses. . . . Perhaps no other group in North America comes anywhere near the ratios of speeches per capita and speakers per capita as are produced from the ranks of the Indian people."[5]

The Pulitzer Prize-winning Kiowa author, N. Scott Momaday, briefly summarized this concept when he wrote:

"A word has power in and of itself. It comes from nothing into sound and meaning; it gives origin to all things. By means of words can a man deal with the world on equal terms. And the word is sacred."[6]

Recognizing this inherent power and value of "words," a great deal of emphasis was placed upon the development of skill and facility in their use in the tribal societies. One study, examining this development in considerable depth, is that of Balgooyen.[7] In his findings, the author commented at length upon the training and preparation of the Plains Indian as a responsible communicator. Regarding this matter, at one point Balgooyen observed:

". . . it was natural that the Indians should spend some time and effort in training young men in the art of speaking. Young men were advised in such matters by older and more experienced relatives, but neophites (sic) received most of their basic training in speech by imitating their elders . . . For the most part, however, the writer was not able to discover any evidence of formal training in speaking, nor were there any special tests of excellence applied. Skill in this respect was accepted with the belief that such powers were given to man by supernatural forces."[8]

Before moving on, it seems appropriate to call attention to the excellent coverage given by Balgooyen to the several speaking roles of tribal leaders, first in his doctoral dissertation entitled *The Public Speaking of the Typical North American Plains Indians of the Nineteenth Century*[9] and in a subsequent adaptation appearing in the volume, *Landmarks in Western Oratory.*[10]

Turning now to the superior development of listening and memory skills evidenced by those Indians of the "pre-English-literacy" era of their history when compared to non-Indian peers, there is yet more that we may learn. Again, in assessing the capabilities and potentials of Indian students in the classroom, we should be aware of their traditional backgrounds and put these to use in our instructional efforts.

Innumerable accounts of early explorers, negotiators, and writers bear vivid testimony to the keen listening and amazing memory possessed by many Indian leaders and spokesmen. As Jones reminds us:

"For them there were no books of reference, no libraries, no research centers of any kind —only the tribal 'rememberers.' A case at hand well illustrates this type of experience. A contest between a representative of the United States government, in council with the Indians concerned, was in progress over the content of a land treaty entered into years before. The government agent claimed that the contract read one way; while, from memory, the tribal orator declared that it read just the reverse.

"With agitation, the agent said, 'You have forgotten. We have it written down on paper.' 'The paper then tells a lie,' was the quick retort of the tribal spokesman. Touching his brow with complete self assurance, he continued, 'I have it written down here.'

"In due time the document which recorded the contract was brought into the council-ring. There, to the astonishment of all except the Indians, the paper confirmed the tribal orator's words."[11]

Exact Repetition a Necessity

Of more immediate consequence to our classroom interaction with students of American Indian ancestry is the fact that, once more in the words of Shirley Witt:

"The tradition of exact repetition persists to the present day in such a way that, for instance, a joke told in New Mexico may be heard again in Nebraska and Indiana and then in Washington, D. C., told by four different Indians, months apart, and yet the joke will be recited exactly, word for word . . . The tradition of exact repetition is not a function of an unimaginative people: It is a tradition born out of necessity. . . ."[12]

In terms of contrast, perhaps no more striking comparison may be made than that of the listening behavior of Jones' tribal "rememberers" and that of some of their non-Indian counterparts at treaty councils during the 19th century. Among the most vivid of these is that reported by Vestal in his account of the Medicine Lodge Council of 1867. This is his description of the attentiveness exhibited by the government negotiators during one of the most significant Indian presentations of the entire series of meetings, that of the Comanche chief, Ten Bears:

"While the talk was being interpreted, the Honourable gentlemen were engaged in different things. Harney with head erect, watched with interest each dusky and painted face of the Indians around the tent. Sanborn picked his teeth and laughed jollily. Tappan read Indian reports about the destruction of the Indian village. Henderson, with eyeglass in his hand, seemed buried in deep study. Terry busied himself in printing alphabetical letters and Augur whittled away with energy. Agent Leavenworth examined his children. . . ."[13]

Quickly now, a final brief look at the role of silence in traditional communicative behavior exhibited by the American Indian. In the past, and to a lesser extent yet today, the derogatory label of "Silent Sitter" has been given Indian students by classroom teachers unaware of this role.

Eastman has pointed out that the Indian:

". . . believes profoundly in silence — the sign of a perfect equilibrium. Silence is the absolute poise or balance of body, mind, and spirit. The man who preserves his selfhood is ever calm and unshaken by the storms of existence — not a leaf, as it were, astir on the tree; not a ripple upon the surface of the shining pool."[14]

Emphasizing the regard of the Indian for silence in communication and commenting upon the manner in which children were instructed early in its use, the famous Lakota orator, Standing Bear, noted:

"Training began with children who were taught to sit still and enjoy it. They were taught to use their organs of smell, to look when there was apparently nothing to see, and to listen intently when all seemingly was quiet. . . . A pause giving time for thought was the truly courteous way of beginning and conducting a conversation. . . . In the midst of sorrow, sickness, and death, or misfortune of any kind, and in the presence of the notable and great, silence was the mark of respect."[15] Contrast this with the nervous uneasiness and fidgeting which usually accompany extended periods of silence in the spoken communication of non-Indians!

In summary, this paper has dealt briefly with three specific aspects of traditional speech communication behavior among the American Indian citizens of our nation. These three . . . the tradition of Indian eloquence, comparatively superior listening and memory capacities, and silence as an integral part of communication . . . have been suggested as important areas of consideration for the teacher whose classroom includes Native American students. It is hoped that the comments made here will serve as a motivator for further individual investigation and action.

As a closing thought, the words of Decori, a Winnebago chief, spoken over a century-and-a-half ago, would seem to be uniquely appropriate:

"Father: The Great Spirit made the white man and the Indian. He did not make them alike. . . . The white man does not like to live like the Indian — it is not his nature. Neither does the Indian love to live like the white man — the Great Spirit did not make him so. We do not wish to do anything contrary to the will of the Great Spirit. If he had made us with white skins and characters like the white man, then we would send our children to . . . school to be taught like white children.

"We think if the Great Spirit had wished us to be like the whites, he would have made us so. We believe he would be displeased with us to try and make ourselves different from what he thought good. I have nothing more to say. This is what we think. If we change our minds we will let you know."[16]

* * *

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Ways of Working with the Navajos

Who Have Not Learned the White Man's Ways

Kathryn Polacca

Vol. 2, No. 1

Many people come to help the Indians on the Navajo Reservation. Some get along well and are able to help the people. Others become confused, frustrated, and disappointed. Some of these give up and quit. Others plug along by trial and error methods. Many of these people are well trained in their subject matter fields and have much to offer the Navajo Indians, but something makes their work difficult. This something may be a lack of understanding of certain taboos in the ways and thinking of the people. This may seem unimportant to the non-Navajo, but it can make a difference in the degree of success or failure achieved, and the happiness of all concerned.

Who are the people who come to work closely with the Navajos? They are many. Some are land operation personnel, doctors, salesmen, teachers, traders, missionaries, social workers, construction workers, and numerous others.

From where do these people come? Some come from large population centers such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Others come from small towns and rural areas. Some know much about the Navajos; others know little.

Before being accepted as friend or enemy, each newcomer is studied carefully by the Navajos. It is as Paul Jones, Navajo Tribal Chairman, said in a welcoming speech for Glenn Landbloom, new Navajo Agency Superintendent:

> We Navajos will look you over for a couple of years, and then we'll decide whether we are for you or against you.

Dr. Bertha P. Dutton, speaking at the Gallup Public Library in April, 1961, said:

> Today, we realize that the Indian is here to stay . . . . From the initial entrance of the white men into the new world, the Indian people have been generous; through three or four centuries they have shared their knowledge and production with the ever-increasing numbers of non-Indians who have encroached more and more upon the native holdings

> . . . for agriculture and timber lands, for ores and mineral wealth, for water and for game . . . physically, spiritually, and technologically. The Indians have tried to make themselves understood and have tried to secure treatment as human beings. Were they not a great people, they would have given up long ago and would have ceased to maintain their cultural entity. But they have kept trying and are still trying — perhaps more today than ever before.

Perhaps this is the reason that Navajos take time to evaluate. One important thing for the person working with them is to realize that they do not like being pushed. No matter how eager one may be to hurry things along, too much pushing may slow down the progress. Projects should be thoroughly explained and, whenever possible, demonstrated. Then, if the people see that this will benefit them (and they want and need to be in on the planning), then they will be ready to support the project one hundred per cent. This takes time and often repetition and patience, until everything is understood. Otherwise, a few may go through the motions, because they are told to do so, but there may be little of lasting value accomplished. If time is not given the people, they may be suspicious that something is being sprung on them. Then they will drag their feet all the more. Sometimes the non-Navajo, in his eager desire to carry out a worthwhile project, isn't aware that he is spinning his own wheels; but often, if he tries, he can learn to be sensitive to the reactions of the people.

This paper has been written because many people who come to work on the reservation do need help in understanding the Navajo people. The Navajo people referred to in this paper are the uneducated ones who do not understand the English language. While a few leaders of the Navajos are becoming acculturated to Anglo society, the great majority do not know or understand the ways of the white man.

Since I am Navajo-Hopi and have worked among my people for several years, I sincerely hope that these remarks will help newcomers to understand the uneducated Navajo better.

Expressing Differences of Opinion

How can one tell if there is a reluctance to cooperate? Usually, no one will come right out and say: "No, we don't believe in this; there is a better way." Instead you may hear Navajo words such as: *doo-ahalyani* (blockhead; stupid person), or *diigis* (insane). These express disapproval in rather a strong way. Severe ridicule and teasing, perhaps about something entirely different, also indicate that something is wrong. People may leave the room, or they may start paying attention to something else. Someone who is really interested and who perhaps understands the feelings of all concerned may start to tell a story. Sometimes the story is a true one; often it is a made-up one. In the story the person will try to show the non-Navajo what the people are thinking and feeling. He may do this for his own people as well. It sometimes takes careful interpreting to get the point. Once a person is aware of this indirect way of expressing an opinion, one can profit well by listening for the message. What should be done if there is discord? Always listen. Sometimes things can be talked out. Other times it is best to drop the matter, think about it, study it; and then maybe it can be approached in a better way. Maybe it needs changing in only a small way. Often things can be worked out with time and understanding.

Processes of Cultural Change Work Slowly

It used to be that uneducated people could be leaders on the Tribal Council, which is a governing body of seventy-four people. There still are some, but more and more stress is being placed on *educated* tribal delegates. The uneducated often say that the world is going by too fast for them; life is changing too rapidly. For this reason, they feel that having some uneducated leaders on the council will help to slow the others down so that they can still catch up. They say that they prefer their old ways and slower life. They would like to keep these ways and sometimes point to the white men's ulcers as proof of the value of their way of life. But things are changing, not just here, but for people everywhere. We cannot stand still or wait. For this reason the people need much patience and understanding and help to be able to maintain a life that has meaning for themselves.

Bertha Dutton, in the speech referred to earlier, stressed the many changes which are taking place in the lives of the Navajo people, including a new social pattern in which many Indian men are becoming wage earners while the important traditional role of the woman is decreasing. She says:

> When we see Indians behaving in a manner unbecoming to their dignity . . . let us remember that they are undergoing tremendous and very rapid changes, that old familiar props are being pulled from under them, and that they are often bewildered, insecure, and facing situations entirely new to their long evolved and time-tried ways.

Difficulties with the English Language

Some people who come to work with the Navajos, those who speak only one language, often do not realize the tremendous handicap which exists in not being able to understand and to speak English fluently. One time a Navajo driver was asked to back a large truck. His foreman said to him, "Back up a shade." The driver didn't understand the meaning of the expression "a shade." One can imagine how many misunderstandings and hazards result from the language problem. One man argued intensely over the word "resign." He insisted that his daughter didn't "resign"; she "quit." He probably was confusing the word "fired" with "resign."

Sometimes misunderstandings come when a person doesn't understand the power of the English words he is using. He may have heard these words used and not realize that these are not acceptable for all times, places, and people. The person may be saying things which come out differently than is intended. This needs to be thoughtfully considered.

It is important to speak clearly, slowly, and with a vocabulary simple enough to make sure that the individual understands. This is true even when using an interpreter. Many a person has given a speech thinking that it is being communicated to the audience. The interpreter, finding the speech too difficult, politely says whatever he can; often these piecemeal statements do not make sense and even sound ridiculous. For this reason a person who has something important to say and who really wants the people to understand should take time to go over his speech with the one who is going to interpret for him. This should not be ten minutes before the meeting. Time is needed to arrange the ideas in such a way that the people will understand the message. Experienced interpreters vouch for this. Sometimes it might be more economical timewise for the interpreter to be given the speech. Discuss all of it with him thoroughly. Then, if only Navajo speaking people are present and if they are a group who do not understand English well, have him present the speech in Navajo only. A little English adds up to a lot of Navajo, and people are often surprised at how much time it takes to interpret a few words of English.[3] The speaker who doesn't realize how turned around the Navajo language is from the English language may speak rapidly, using an impressive vocabulary and never know that the speech, as given, was impossible to interpret on the spur of the moment. One must realize, too, that different cultures have different ways of expressing the same things. The illustrations and examples should be within the experience of the people so that they can understand.

Another point to consider is that the people who have difficulty with a second language often fear to express themselves in that language. Also, if the Navajo speaks good English, he may avoid "showing off" before his own people who may speak less well than he does. For these reasons even English-speaking Navajos sometimes prefer to speak in their own language in which they feel at home. It is well that the non-Navajo understands this and does not himself become suspicious! Usually the people are neither discussing him, nor do they intend to be rude. One should not expect every word that is spoken to be interpreted. Much of what is spoken is not that important!

Derogatory Remarks Are Usually Understood

Derogatory remarks can often lead a person into trouble rather quickly. This is just as true for Navajos as for Anglos. The story is told of a young man trying to impress his officer in military school. He felt that he should lead in the conversation. Since he had nothing else to say, he said, "Who is that awful looking woman sitting across the hall?" The officer answered coldly, "That sir, is my mother." Then the young man said quickly, "No, not that one. The real ugly one beside her." The officer gave him another frozen stare. "That, sir," he said, "is my sister." The young man gulped, and said, "Boy, she sure can dance!"

Almost everyone on the Navajo Reservation is somebody's mother, sister, father, brother, aunt, or uncle, either by clan ways, blood relation, or by marriage, even though they may live on another distant part of the reservation. In this way, the reservation is not as large as it seems, and derogatory remarks seem to travel with speed and can hurt someone, including yourself and your work. For here as elsewhere people have deep feelings for relatives and friends. Hurt feelings may not be forgotten for a long while, and unkind remarks *coming from a stranger* will not be understood.

Don't Ask Personal Questions

The Indian people do not appreciate a stranger asking them questions. Sometimes they do not answer. (What is an interpreter to say then?) Often an answer may be given, but sometimes this is the answer which they think you want to hear and is given only for the purpose of getting rid of you. An untrue answer may also be felt to be justified if the question is one which should not have been asked. So it is good to remember to try not to ask too many questions. This seems very difficult for many non-Indians. It seems to be one of their ways of showing interest in other people. This can be disastrous. Sometimes the person asking the question never realizes that his questions are making others angry. The questions may be in asking a man about his wife or a mother about her children. "How may children do you have?" etc., etc., etc! Such simple, well-meaning questions may be thought of as being ones of obnoxious curiosity which are none of your business. And whereas the stranger may intend to be polite, his interest may not be taken kindly. There is resentment especially in regard to inquiry about family relationships. The non-Indian seems so accustomed to figuring out who is who, who is so and so's brother, sister, aunt, uncle, cousin, etc., that he doesn't realize that the Navajos just don't do this. They will tell you if and when they want to, when they know you that well. Until that time one should be content to know that the person is a member of an extended family. That's all that matters to the Navajos.

The Navajo will tell about himself if and when he trusts and likes you as his friend. When he does this, he feels that he is confiding in you. If you pass along this information carelessly, he will feel that you have betrayed him and that you cannot be trusted. This applies not only to his family relationships, but also to small daily happenings, which to the non-Indian seems to be small talk carrying little weight or importance. But let this get back to him, and you are really *doo ya shoda* (no good), someone who doesn't know any better. When asked how someone else feels about something, often the answer will be: "I don't know, you'll have to ask him." Let each speak for himself.

Be a Good Listener

One value which the non-Navajo holds which is also valued in Navajo ways is that of being a good listener. For the person to take time to listen is of utmost importance. To be brushed off by a clock-watcher is an insult. Problem solving in old ways was often accomplished by talking it through. The older people still regard this as a valuable way of working through a problem. Often, one by one, each will give his views. This takes time, sometimes hours, but taking time to listen, having patience, is valued, appreciated, and held important.

The English word and concept "maybe" is a difficult one for the Navajo people to understand. "Maybe we will do this or that . . . maybe we will go" is often misunderstood. For this reason it is better not to make "maybe" promises but to wait until the maybe becomes a reality. Otherwise you could be made to appear to be one whose word cannot be relied upon. "He lied to us" might be said of you, not because you did, but because you didn't realize how difficult and foreign this concept and word are to the people.

The non-Navajo is sometimes disturbed by what he calls Navajo negativity. This feeling comes from words expressed in English like, "But you shouldn't have," or "We should have done it this way," etc. One must learn that this is considered a form of evaluation. It is used to improve future performances. Only if the non-Navajo can realize the value the Navajo places upon this can he tolerate this constant habit of review. This is not intended to be critical in the same way many other people look at things.

It is said that an Indian never forgets. Sometimes this seems true. One good thing about it is that this applies not only to mistakes (stock reduction misunderstandings are still a number one example), but it also happily applies to achievements of general good. People and activities are remembered for the good accomplished. (You may not feel appreciated while you are here, but the good you do will be spoken about after you have gone!)

Visiting the Hogan

A word about entering a hogan. You'll hear, *Hago*, which means, "Come in." On entering don't stand there. If there is a chair, don't wait until someone asks you to sit down; sit on it. If there is no chair, sit on a box; if no box, sit on a sheep skin; if no sheep skin, then squat on your legs.

Sometimes when going into a hogan or when receiving visitors, it is best to skip the introduction of strangers. Introductions, so important in another culture, are not understood by most of the old people. Perhaps some of this comes from the idea that over-use of a person's name is bad. (And if a person says his own name too much, they say his ears will dry up.) So the rule seems to be act friendly, and forget that so and so may not know someone else who is present. It doesn't seem to matter. The people will get acquainted and shake hands if they decide they want to. Children are taught to shake hands and often do this easily and confidently with their own people and, if not shy and afraid, with others too.

The people may live close to the land of the Mormon handshake, but unless they are converts, theirs could hardly be called that. It is more of a passing of the hands, not a vigorous, exuberant pumping.

Do Not Fuss Over the Babies

About the small ones in the family — in some cultures one makes over and plays with the babies and small children. It is different in Navajo ways. They do not like to have a stranger too close to their babies. This is especially true when the baby still has the soft spot on his head. A stranger by his attention (it is said) may witch the child, and the result will be that the child will stutter or be unable to talk all his life. Some other cultures avoid what they believe to be early traumatic experiences for their young children. They say that these may have a harmful psychological effect on the person's life. So it is best to save your "itchie, gitchie, goo" baby talk for your own children. It is especially awkward for a non-Navajo man to be making over an Indian baby. This makes for an uncomfortable feeling for all concerned except perhaps for the man who thinks he is doing the right thing.

Why does a Navajo appear to be embarrassed and ashamed when complimented? "That's a pretty skirt," "What lovely jewelry" may be all right for elsewhere, but uneducated people here don't understand such compliments. They feel that if it is pretty, they know about it. You need not tell them. That is why they may say when told something is pretty, "Oh, yes, I know it," instead of, "Thank you." If a well-meaning person says some imitation or cheap article is pretty, though he may be sincere, this may be considered an insult to the wearer. For to say, for example, that a poor string of turquoise is pretty would only be considered ridicule. Perhaps it is all that the person can afford, but he knows that it is not genuine. To make over it seems as though you are merely teasing him.

Some Wise Sayings

Speaking of the admiration of lovely things does not mean that one must always be dressed in his Sunday best, though there are occasions when this will make them proud of you. But the old folks have a saying which many of us remember being handed to us from our parents. The saying goes; "Silks and satins will put out the kitchen fire." This probably came when we wanted to wear our best clothes at home. The people recognize that there are different requirements for different occasions.

Another old saying is that two articles are of utmost importance. For material comfort a person must have a good pair of shoes and a comfortable bed; for you are either in one or the other all of the time. Sturdy shoes can still be purchased in every trading post on the reservation, and on a cold night a sheep skin "bed" is still about as soft and warm and comfortable as any man-made layers of nylon blankets.

Some say that the Navajos are cruel in their teasing. This is true to a certain extent. Teasing is used as a means of control. Other cultures may use equally cruel methods of control (paddling a child, threats, for example). The Navajos also say, "What will people say?" or "People will laugh at you if . . . ," and the action of which they are speaking is understood to be unacceptable and must be avoided (another method of control). Rules of conduct for the individual as well as the group are quickly learned and complied with so as to avoid harsh teasing and being talked about.[2]

Navajos Hope You Like Their Arts and Crafts

The Navajos appreciate seeing their own arts and crafts. Ruth Polacca, the writer's mother, herself a weaver, says, "To wear turquoise and silver, to have Navajo rugs in your home makes the people feel that others appreciate the work of their hands. It somehow makes you feel closer to them."

Then, too, turquoise is worn for its religious value. It brings good fortune and blessings to the person who wears it and to the person who sees it being worn.

Even as the Navajos appreciate seeing others with their arts and crafts, so it goes with the language. Whereas a few may not want you to understand everything they say, most do appreciate people who care enough to learn a few words in their language. "Hello" — *"ya 'ateeh"*; "pretty" — *"nizhoni"*; "my friends" (when addressing a group) — *"kwa' asini"*; "goodby" — *"hagoonee"*; all are indications that you'd like to communicate.

To be able to address an old man with respect, by calling him "my grandfather" — *"shicheii,"* and an older woman as "my grandmother" — *"shimasani,"* brings light into the eyes and a warm feeling to the heart. It takes a little effort to learn a few words, but it pays off in big dividends to those who try. It is easy to see how the old folks, who may not speak a word of English, appreciate this. It makes them want to know you and to want their children, who can speak your language, to know you.

Don't be surprised if you are given a Navajo name by the people. One well-liked agricultural expert was fondly called *beegashii likish,* spotted cow, and it had a good meaning and was associated with someone and something the people liked and appreciated!

A little has been said about fine clothes and dressing for the occasion, but nothing has been said about acting or dressing in beatnik fashion. Both are taboo. If you want to act or dress this way, a Hallowe'en party with your own people would be a better place than on the Navajo Reservation! It seems strange that some people wear and do things here that they would be afraid or ashamed of wearing or doing where they came from. To fit in, to conform, is considered important to the people. "What would people say?" is again probably one of the controlling forces in social custom.

White Man's Time Orientation

If you say that you will be at a certain place at a certain time, every effort should be made to be there. (The Navajos do not set the same standards for themselves. This, they feel, can be forgiven. After all, it is you who are the educated one, not they, and it is your culture that lives by the clock, not theirs.) It is said that in old ways if a man said he would arrive when the sun is high in the sky, it would probably be sunset time when he actually arrives. This has been called "Indian time." But remember, you are expected to be on *bilaganna* (white man's) time. You will be respected for this.

Another thing along this line is the concept the Navajo has of not planning ahead. This is considered *bahazid* (dangerous). To talk about something too far in advance (a few days is all right; a year is too long) just is not done, not out loud, anyway. This statement does not apply, of course, to tribal leaders who are now planning well into the future in industry, business, land operation, and education. For this reason, it should be reemphasized that this discussion is dealing not with the progressive, advanced people of the tribe, but with the uneducated who have not experienced much of the white man's activity in today's world.

In regard to savings in the bank some would question what good the money could be doing anyone there, when it could be used to help someone. This brings us to the Navajo's idea of sharing. To be able to help members of one's clan and family when in need has always been held in esteem. Favors are not expected to be returned person for person, but there is the expectation that in the time of need, help will be provided. If you are good to others, people will remember you when you are in need.

How can one explain how the people feel about food? It is not thought of only in terms of money or even taste but also in terms of kinship and friendship. To share food at mealtimes, even if it is only a bowl of stew or pinto beans and a cup of coffee, is friendship and acceptance. The same goes for accepting food offered. To refuse to share or to refuse to accept food is taboo spelled with a capital "T". *"Chineago"* (eating together) at home, or in the community or at a religious ceremonial is a pleasure to be enjoyed.

The Navajo Sense of Humor

The writer's father, Howell Polacca Sr., a Hopi Indian married to a Navajo, learned to speak the language of the Navajo. He lived with his family on the Navajo Reservation and had many dealings with them. Although he is now deceased, tales are still told of how he would be seen surrounded by a group of Navajos, laughing and telling them stories. He often said in order for an outsider to get along with them, he needs a good sense of humor. He himself had a way of making everyone laugh. Navajos do appreciate lighthearted laughter and fun. To be too serious, and most of all to be sad, is something uncomfortable. It can be *bahadzid*, that is, dangerous or evil. (Laugh and we Navajos laugh with you, cry and you may witch us with your tears!)

So to be able to laugh with the people (even at yourself) is another way of bringing about a good feeling. Many Navajos who are poor in what they call "hard and soft goods" may be rich in their ability to share and enjoy life with other human beings. When they can relax and laugh, they feel more free to share a part of their life with you. They will enjoy working with you and will want to learn from you. Story telling is an art they understand and in which they excel.

Navajo Religious Ceremonies

On attending religious ceremonies the curiosity of the non-Navajo regarding something so personal as religion is not easily understood. However, visitors are accepted at some ceremonies. Before attending, it would be well to know what is expected. For example, when one visits a church, it is helpful to know whether you must cover your head, if the communion service is for all or for members only, whether or not you are expected to sit, stand, or kneel. The same thing goes for a Navajo ceremony. The collection plate may be passed at a church, but the Navajos do it another way. They help pay the medicine man with such things as a bag of flour, groceries, cloth, etc. It is felt that the medicine man's services, to have value, must be paid for. Other people would hesitate or question a doctor's qualifications were his services free. The same is true of the medicine man. He will have spent long hours getting the herbs and precious sands ready for the ceremony. He will have spent years learning by heart the sacred chants. It has cost him time and effort, so it is necessary to reward him for his services.[1]

It is well to know the kind of ceremony to which you are invited. There is a ceremony when a young girl becomes a woman, to which you may be invited to participate. It is believed that an article brought to the girl (loaned) during ceremony by a non-Navajo may bring special blessings. The person bringing the article brings with him his superior qualities of intelligence, wealth, health, etc. So, if you are asked to participate in this ceremony, you will know that you are well thought of. Someone will tell you what to do.

For those who would criticize the religion of the Navajo, I would like to make this observation. When an Anglo is severely disturbed in mind, costly consultations and treatments with a psychiatrist often take place. When the Navajo is out of harmony with himself, his world, and others, his family also becomes concerned. They seek the Navajo medicine man, and the therapy is a religious sing. Both ways are costly, but the results, if successful, are the same: the restoration of peace of mind.

It is helpful if people can respect the things which others find sacred and helpful. No one likes to have his religion torn to shreds by outsiders. Today, public health doctors and Navajo medicine men work side by side to help patients regain mental and physical health.

It is well for the non-Navajo to realize that many things about death and a dead person are considered *bahadzid* (dangerous). There are many religious rules and customs which accompany such an occasion, even as there are in other cultures. A person working with one who has lost a member of his family may profit by understanding that this person may have certain obligations which will demand his attention for a few days at this time. Soon things will be back to normal.

How Does an Expert Perform?

The Navajos expect those who are experts in their fields, those who have come to help them, to be almost perfect. This includes among other things, the keeping of your word. If you make a promise, keep that promise. My mother, when a young girl, worked in the home of Dr. Albert Wigglesworth, a well-loved and remembered Anglo doctor at Fort Defiance. One thing told of him is that he was a man who kept his word to the people.

Other ways in which the Navajo expects those who come to work with them to be almost perfect are in personal appearance, the clothes you wear, the car you drive, the house you live in, in other words, in what you have. The Navajos feel that if a person is good and worthy, and not lazy, he will be blessed with material wealth. If you, who have come to help him, appear poor, you can imagine what his first impression will be! An old pair of shoes, or a ragged piece of clothing worn at a meeting, for example, can lower the image of you in his eyes rather quickly. He has been taught that a well-educated person and a good person is clean, neat, well dressed, and well off. If you cannot show him something better than he has, then he wonders what you have to offer him. Even an older car that is paid for, and money in the bank, cannot be greatly valued in his "live for today" world. The shiny new cars seen on the reservation tell us how these are admired, treasured, and turned in for a newer model whenever possible.

Summary

Some may say that the things recorded here are not true anymore. Maybe it has not been made clear enough that this paper deals with the uneducated Navajo, not with those who speak and understand English, and who have a knowledge of the white man's world and ways. And, again, it could be that things are changing more rapidly than I have recognized. But, are these changes not on the outside, rather than on the inside — what people want and have, rather than what they feel and believe and do? Of course, there is a relationship between these two.

Non-Navajo might accept the caution that Navajos do not like to be considered museum pieces. Too many "Ah's" and "Oh's" on the part of the newcomer are not appreciated.

Perhaps it seems that the opinions expressed in this paper emphasize too much the responsibility of the non-Navajo to bridge the cultural differences. Some might say that telling people about the things discussed here does not guarantee that they will be able to adjust to the ways of the Navajos. Others may say that we cannot expect them to adjust. Or, that too much adjusting will not help the people grow, but keep them where they are. Some may feel that these things are not a problem. Let it be said that for some, this is true. Some people who come to work here seem to know and feel and understand the people. It is for those who feel that they do not that these suggestions are given.

Conclusion

Manuelito, an old leader of the people, spoke of education as being the bridge which would help the people find a better life. It is the writer's feeling that this bridge must not, cannot, be made for the people, nor only by the people, but that it can only be built with the people. This involves understanding. We must all try to begin where we find ourselves. It seems like more and more people are realizing the need of understanding and are trying to do something about it. The United States Government Task Force Committee which has been studying the Indian problems and projects in our country has reported:

> The aid of the tribe or . . . the Indian community is crucial to the achievement of objectives and this support should be secured before projects are commenced. The Bureau of Indian Affairs should aim for maximum Indian economic self-sufficiency, full participation of Indians in American life and equal citizenship privileges and responsibilities for Indians. Indians should be encouraged to help themselves. Members of a society impose obligations as well as bestow privileges. Assisting Indians to recognize and fulfill their obligations is as important as helping them to take advantage of their privileges . . . The Indian role must be "contributory rather than passive" in any federal program if it is to benefit both other Indians and the United States.

We have another "long walk" ahead of us before the paths of our cultures merge. There are still rough paths. But, as more of us take time to study, observe, give, share, and try to know each other, perhaps our inter-cultural relations will improve. It is like someone said, "We need to walk a few miles in the other fellow's moccasins. Then we will know how they feel." This would help us to understand each other better.

* * *

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The Migration and Adaptation of American Indians to Los Angeles

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The City of Los Angeles has the largest population of American Indians in the United States. In this city, the Indians are actively creating a pan-Indian subculture which accommodates their aboriginal history and reservation culture to the newer world of urban living. Athletic leagues, Christian churches, and other institutions Euro-American in character are focusing on their Indian membership and identity with such activities as social centers, annual fairs and yearly Christmas parties. Tradition-oriented dance clubs flourish.

But along with these changes expressive of Indian association or identity are equally extensive changes toward the assimilation, acculturation, and adjustment or adaptation of Indians to the white society and culture of Los Angeles.

. Such adaptation as a process for enhancing survival in new circumstances is reflected in the U. S. Census data given below.[1] This data is followed by a brief history of Indian migration to Los Angeles. The adaptation of the migrants is then outlined in terms of assimilation (the incorporation of a minority into the social relations network of the greater society), acculturation (the change of cultural characteristics of the minority in response to those of the surrounding majority), and adjustment (social and psychological health). Finally, variations of urban adaptation according to tribal variations of urban adaptation according to tribal background are considered.

Table 1, based on the 1960 census, illustrates some of the demographic and cultural patterns of the Indians in California in contrast to non-Indians. It also indicates that in selected areas whites are more adapted to urban living than Indians, and suggests the extent of the potential adaptive shift for Indians. The table indicates that in California, Indians more than whites are rural residents, are younger, come from larger families, have less schooling, are more often unemployed, and have lower incomes. Indians are rarely entrepreneurs, even in small businesses; they tend to work for others in manufacturing, agriculture, and personal services.

Migration to the City

In the 60 years between 1890 and 1950, the population of California identified for census purposes as Indian increased numerically from 16,624 to 19,943 but declined proportionately from 1.4 percent to 0.2 percent of the total California population.

Los Angeles County had a population of 6,000 Indians in 1955, composed mainly of Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw and Seminole who had come from Oklahoma. In 1960, Oklahoma had 12 percent of all U.S. Indians,[2] but our survey revealed that of the Los Angeles Indians, 25 percent have come from Oklahoma, over twice the national proportion in that state.

The second, more massive migration began around 1955, the majority coming from reservation areas. They came particularly from Arizona (15 percent in Los Angeles *versus* 15 percent nationally), New Mexico (8 percent *vs.* 10 percent), South Dakota (9 percent *vs.* 5 percent), North Dakota (6 percent *vs.* 2 percent), and Montana (7 percent *vs.* 4 percent). Including those born in California (6 percent *vs.* 7 percent), some 76 percent came from these seven states. In addition to the great migration from Oklahoma noted above, a disproportionate number of Indians came from the states of the Northern Plains.

These Los Angeles proportions roughly reflect the national distribution of Indians. A similar correlation is found for tribal representation. Indians are invariably precise about their identity, often specifying a tiny triblet or reservation.

A key to the great size of the post-1955 migration is the Employment Assistance ("Relocation") Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). In 1952, the BIA began to place Indians from reservation areas in jobs in western industrial centers. In 1958, it added the Adult Vocational Program to coincide with relocation. By 1962, the BIA had trained over 5,000 Indians and had relocated more than 40,000. Both programs have been intensified since 1962, and have been a massive stimulant to the growth of the Los Angeles Indian community. The BIA office in Los Angeles has, in recent years, been assisting about 1,300 Indians annually.

We analyzed the subjective side of this migration by asking the heads of 158 households a series of questions about life on the reservation, life in the city, and what led individuals to migrate. The pattern of responses was not significantly different for what could be expected from Euro-Americans who had migrated to a large city from a rural or small town background. The incentive for migration is primarily economic: to find jobs, higher wages, and improved physical living conditions. Indians tend to dislike the smog, urban density, transportation problems, and high cost of living in the city; and they look with fondness at the social contacts and activities they had on the reservation. As the years in the city go by, they increasingly withdraw from previous reservation contacts (fewer return to the reservation, fewer letters, etc.), while at the same time they increasingly tend to idealize the physical and cultural aspects of reservation life. Many older urban Indians talk of retiring to the reservations, where they own property or where as members of the tribe they have a right to reside.

The Navajo Agency has compiled information on relocation and returns to the reservation.[3] Of the 3,273 Navajos who relocated between 1952 and 1961, 37 percent later returned to the reservation.

Assimilation

Our findings tend to validate the statement of Nancy Lurie that "the option to assimilate is far more open for Indians than for almost any other minority."[4] The movement from a reservation, where Indians are virtually the total society, to a city, where they are a tiny minority, is a major step toward assimilation into white society. But the Indian also has the option to continue to relate to other Indians in the city. The city contains a variety of Indian social groups (kinship, tribal, pan-Indian clubs

TABLE 1
Comparison of Indian and White Males in California

(1960 U.S. Census Figures)

	Indian	White
Urban residence	53.0%	86.0%
Under 20 years of age	45.0%	38.0%
Families of six or more persons*	37.0%	12.0%
Median school years completed†	9.7	12.0
Unemployment rate†	15.1%	5.5%
Median annual income in 1959†	$2,694	$5,109
More Whites		
Professional, technical & kindred	3.8%	14.0%
Managers, official & proprietors	2.0%	12.5%
Sales workers	1.1%	8.0%
Clerical & kindred	3.1%	7.9%
More Indians		
Laborers, nonfarm	17.3%	5.6%
Farm laborers & foremen	10.2%	3.1%
Private household workers††	0.4%	0.1%

* Refers to population of the 13 western states. All other data refer to California alone.

† Men 14 years of age and older.

†† About 40 percent of both Indians and whites are "craftsmen, operators and kindred workers." Because of lack of contrast, these are omitted.

or centers, etc.) with which Indians affiliate in varying degrees. Our study explored three aspects of assimilation: marriage, formal associations, and informal associations.

Marriage. We found a significant decline with successive generations in the rate of marriage within the race and tribe. Sixty-four percent of marriages in the generation of the respondent's parents were within the tribe; only 39 percent of marriages in the respondent's generation were within the tribe. About one-third of the married respondents had married whites.

Formal Associations. Although formal Indian associations (athletic leagues, churches, clubs, and centers) have extensive mailing lists of nominal members, only about 20 percent of Los Angeles Indians are active in such associations. Church preferences can be classified as follows: Roman Catholic (29 percent); fundamentalist Protestant (27 percent); general Protestant (18 percent); Latter Day Saints (5 percent); various nativistic Indian churches (3 percent); 18 percent had no

TABLE 2
Tribal Membership of 2,945 Indians in Los Angeles, 1966

NAVAJO (14.1%)	417	ARAPAHO	25	ESKIMO	4
SIOUX (12.0%)	354	OMAHA	23	MOHICAN	4
CHEROKEE (6.3%)	185	CROW	19	ATHABASCAN	3
CREEK (6.0%)	183	PONCA	19	KLAMATH	3
PUEBLO (5.1%)	151	SHOSHONE	19	KUTENAI	3
CHOCTAW (4.5%)	134	ASSINIBOIN	18	POMO	3
SEMINOLE (3.7%)	108	OSAGE	18	ALEUT	2
CHEYENNE (3.3%)	97	YAKIMA	18	CADDO	2
CHIPPEWA (3.1%)	92	CHICKASAW	14	CHICKAHOMINY	2
APACHE (3.1%)	92	COLVILLE	14	COEUR D'ALENE	2
KIOWA	85	UTE	13	POWHATAN	2
PAPAGO	74	MOHAVE	10	QUAPAW	2
GROS VENTRE	65	NANTICOKE	10	QUECHUA	2
KICKAPOO	64	SHAWNEE	9	CHUMASH	1
COMANCHE	59	YAVAPAI	9	HAIDA	1
PIMA	55	MANDAN	8	HURON	1
BLACKFOOT	47	PAWNEE	8	LILLOOET	1
MEXICAN INDIANS	45	TLINGIT	8	MARICOPA	1
IROQUOIS	42	FLATHEAD	7	OTTAWA	1
WINNEBAGO	42	OTO	7	PEORIA	1
MISSION	38	POTAWATOMI	7	SALISH	1
ARIKARA	35	CREE	6	SHASTA	1
YUMA	34	SAC-FOX	6	SPOKANE	1
PAIUTE	33	WEA	6	UMATILLA	1
DELAWARE	31	COCOPA	4	UMPQUA	1
NEZ PERCÉ	31			WASHO	1

religious preference. While 23 percent said they went to church once a week, the median attendance rate is about once a year. More Indians go to church in the city (70 percent) than did on the reservation (53 percent).

Informal Associations. Some 29 percent of our total survey sample reported their usual association as being only with Indians, 67 percent with Indians and whites, and 4 percent with whites exclusively. With residence considered as an aspect of informal association, 5 percent preferred an all-Indian neighborhood, and 45 percent preferred a mixed neighborhood, and 8 percent preferred an all-white neighborhood (42 percent had no preference or did not reply).

Three patterns of residence were discernible: a primary concentration (46 percent) in the low rental district of central Los Angeles City; a secondary concentration in a lower-class suburban southeastern extension of the City (28 percent); and a wide distribution throughout the remaining cities and suburbs of greater Los Angeles (26 percent). Indians are much more widely scattered than Negroes or Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles. There is a tendency for recent arrivals (particularly for the first two years) to reside in the central city; longer-term residents move outward to the suburbs. This outward movement is considered indicative of a shift toward assimilation, although some who are major Indian leaders live in the farthest suburbs.

Acculturation

Urban acculturation for the Indian involves replacing or modifying his reservation culture, as well as acquiring new traits. It is not simply the learning of financial budgeting, industrial skills, or driving on the freeways, but the changing of a whole range of behaviors and attitudes.

For example, Indians tend to retain the attitude that one should not spend much on clothes or housing. On the reservation a few work clothes and a single set of dress clothes are sufficient; housing is of course inexpensive. Hence the Los Angeles Indians on the average spend a relatively small portion of their income on clothes and housing, while relatively large amounts go toward travel and entertainment. Although most of the surveyed households have a television set, Indians probably watch television somewhat less than whites. When asked, "What do you usually do for recreation?" 46 percent said sports; 16 percent mentioned TV, movies or plays; 9 percent said powwows (Indian dances); 7 percent said they go to bars. A wide variety of other activities received briefer mention.

Other indices of acculturation are level of formal education, occupation, and the loss of ability to use an Indian language (with its reciprocal implication of increasing ability to use English). We found a median of 11.2 years of education; 5 percent were in professional occupations, with 31 percent in skilled occupations. The educational level comes close to that of Los Angeles whites, although the occupational level is still very low. There are also indications that the quality of education is lower on the reservations where most of the Indians went to school. It may be that nine or ten years of education in Los Angeles is equivalent to 11 years schooling on the reservation.

Some 54 percent speak one or more Indian languages. Since language retention is a useful index of the lack of acculturation, we went into the subject in detail with a sample of 158 household heads. Forty-one percent said they spoke their Indian language "quite well." In 57 percent of the married households the spouse spoke an Indian language, in 22 percent an Indian language was spoken in the house "usually" (13 percent) or "always" (9 percent). Twenty-nine percent of those with children said their children speak an Indian language, but only 3 percent said their children speak "quite well," and only 11 percent said their children speak to each other in an Indian language.

Adjustment

Adjustment—as the dimension of psychological and social health—can be measured by such maladjustive factors as rates of suicide, interment in mental hospitals, crime rates, and unemployment rates. Drunkenness is also maladjustive. Nationally, "drunkenness alone accounts for 71 percent of all Indian arrests."[5] Drunkenness was seen by 32 percent of our respondents as their major problem. The very high unemployment rate (15.1 percent for Indians in the 1960 California census) is another indication of maladjustment.

Acculturation and adjustment are not always correlated positively. Military service, for example, seems to have a negative effect on Indian adjustment to white society, but a positive effect on acculturation to white culture. In an unnamed urban center, Martin found the Navajo better adjusted to urban life, in terms of fuller employment and lower arrest rates, than Sioux or Choctaw.[6] This kind of passive adjustment to urban life can take place with minimal acculturation. According to Kluckhohn and Leighton, "Navajos are distinguished among American Indians by the alacrity, if not the ease, with which they have adjusted to the impact of white culture, while still retaining many native traits and preserving the framework of their own cultural organization."[7] Martin indicates that Navajo men are less *adjusted* than Navajo women, while our data shows Navajo men to be more *acculturated* than their women.

The high geographical mobility of Indians within the city, while difficult to analyze, may be another indication of maladjustment. The addresses of members of the Los Angeles Indian Center change about 10 percent per month, indicating that the average member moves at least once a year. Such an address list is virtually useless a year after it is compiled. That this mobility clearly is not due to discrimination in housing is shown by the finding that only 4 percent felt that prejudice or discrimination was the "Number One problem of Indians in Los

TABLE 3
Movement in Urban Adaptation

	WEAK		STRONG
	Navajo	Sioux	Five Civil
	Survey		
1. Sample size	417	354	618
2. Years education	10.4	10.3	10.9
3. Median year of arrival	1964	1964	1959
4. Speak an Indian language	89%	46%	40%
5. Intratribal marriage	46%	25%	14%
6. Came on B.I.A. relocation	49%	53%	32%
7. Residence in city center	55%	34%	30%
	Detailed Interviews		
1. Sample size	25	22	35
2. Sports for recreation	18%	38%	49%
3. Belong to clubs	4%	36%	49%
4. Lived on a reservation	88%	82%	23%
5. Are on tribal roll	80%	91%	43%
6. Plan to live on a reservation	52%	50%	11%
7. Write or phone reservation	68%	55%	20%
8. Associate entirely or mostly with Indians	64%	33%	26%

Angeles," while 73 percent said they thought that Indians are treated fairly in Los Angeles.

Tribal Differences in Urban Adaptation

For the analysis of tribal differences in adaptation, the survey forms were initially divided into six groups according to tribal location in the United States. Individuals from tribes located in the northeastern part of the country were found to be closest to the expected pattern of direct adaptation to urban life: high on educational level, but low on use of an Indian language, intratribal marriage, and use of the relocation program.

A comparison of individual tribal groups indicated that the three major tribal groups in the city of Navajo, Sioux, and Five Civilized Tribes represent three degrees of adaptation to the city—from the weak adaptation of the Navajo to the relatively full adaptation of the Five Civilized Tribes (see Table 3). Our study indicates that Indians fresh from strongly rural or reservation backgrounds tend, like the Navajo, to shift over time to patterns of life exemplified by the Five Civilized Tribes.

Also, as the Indian community in Los Angeles matures, we may expect tribal groups such as the Navajo to shift toward tribal groups like the Five Civilized Tribes. The latter in turn is culturally close to the general population of Los Angeles, except for the particular ethnic identity.

Conclusions

Urban adaptation involves changes that enhance the survival and expansion of a minority population in the city. These changes are reflected in training in new and appropriate occupations, and in learning to function according to as well as alongside of the impersonal, legalistic standards of the city. As a factor in such adaption, one-fifth of the Indians in Los Angeles have found in social enclaves a security against the impersonality of the city, and a new and wider identity in pan-Indian associations.

There are several conditions which support the pan-Indian enclave rather than tribalism in the city. Common and exclusive occupation of a reservation gives a tribe a unity and stability which cannot be maintained as its members scatter across a city. Lack of discrimination in housing for Indians in Los Angeles leads them to scatter widely from each other and to live close to their work. Thus individuals, even members of tribes with over one thousand members in Los Angeles, rarely see other tribal members except their own kinfolk and a few friends. One acculturated Navajo told me that although he goes looking for other Navajo in the Indian bars about twice a year—so that he can enjoy speaking his native language again and hear the latest news of the reservation—he is often unable to find a single member of his tribe.

Conditions in the city lead the Indian away from tribal patterns. The reservation offers a very narrow range of occupational, religious, political, and recreational alternatives. The range of possible choices is vastly increased in the city. This, together with a new relative social anonymity, and the high-pressure selling of the city, lead the Indian into making choices he would never make on the reservation.

The physical appearance of the Indian invariably conditions many of the choices he makes. The majority of Indians "look Indian" and are defined and treated by the majority population of Los Angeles simply as Indians (or Mexicans) rather than specifically as Navajo, Sioux, or Creek. While Indians themselves are enabled to make judgments of the physical appearance of other Indians that approximate major tribal physical types, the larger population cannot do this. However, an Indian can "pass" as a white more easily than a white can "pass" as an Indian, because Indian society is much smaller and less diversified than the white.

As an ethnic group, Indians do have a common history and a shared heritage. But many individual Indians are not really aware of this until they leave their reservation, with its narrow concerns, and in the city meet Indians from other parts of the country. An awakened pan-Indianism then often becomes an additional dimension to, and sometimes a substitute for, their tribal affiliations. Although only one-fifth of our respondents are socially active in pan-Indian associations, the great majority of Indians in the city clearly are ideologically and emotionally affiliated with pan-Indianism. Pan-Indianism thus seems to emerge as a stabilizing element—and perhaps a permanent part—of the adaptation of the Indian migrant to the metropolitan areas, and a significant facet of the ethnic diversity of the American City.

* * *

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The Speech Education of the Alaskan Indian

as Viewed by the Speech Educator

Lee H. Salisbury
Vol. 4, No. 3

One-eighth of our entering freshman class at the University of Alaska this year are Alaskan native students. They come to us from all parts of our state: some are Indians from our southeastern panhandle of Tsimpsian, Tlingit, and Haida derivation; some are Aleuts, a racial group now quite dilute, who are primarily commercial fishermen and live along the Aleutian chain; others are of Athapaskan Indian stock from the interior. The largest group of all, the Eskimo, comes from all parts of the Bering and Arctic sea coast river communities inland.

Naturally, these students are not all pure blooded natives. In order to receive Bureau of Indian Affairs grant-in-aid support, a student must declare himself to be one-fourth or more of Eskimo, Indian or Aleut extraction. There are undoubtedly other students in attendance at the University of Alaska who are, in varying degrees, of native blood but have not declared themselves to be native because they do not need financial assistance.

The educational, social and cultural backgrounds of these native students we can identify differ widely. Those coming to us from segregated boarding schools, such as Mount Edgecumbe in Sitka, Convent High School in Unalakleet, and Friends High School in Kotzebue, are likely to be bilingual and tribally oriented. Others who come from integrated high schools in the larger cities such as Fairbanks and Anchorage are less likely to speak their native language and may be more racially dilute.

But percentage of white blood is no index of acculturation: one of our freshman boys, a graduate of Anchorage High School, plays flamenco guitar and recites Ferlinghetti with no trace of an accent, yet is a pure blooded Eskimo. He stands in striking contrast to a blonde, blue eyed, fair skinned part-Aleut girl from King Cove who speaks with the characteristic native inflection and who mixes only with the other native students.

Although it might seem that with a group of this kind it would be difficult to make generalizations, we can make certain predictions: Over 50 percent of them are likely to drop out at the end of their freshman year. Less than 2 per cent of them are likely to receive a college degree at the end of the four years. If we use our 50 new native freshmen as an example—and our drop-out statistics prevail—25 of them will not come back to school next fall and only one of them is likely to complete the baccalaureate degree at the end of four years. When one considers that the natives in Alaska number almost 30 per cent of the stable population and that these students are their potential leaders, it can be seen that we have a minority group drop-out problem of a unique nature and immense proportions. Unlike cultural minorities in other states, the Alaskan native has not been deliberately segregated from the state and comparatively little discrimination exists.

Tribal Social Habits Prevail

What then makes these students drop out? From a superficial examination of the existing data one might conclude that, after surviving an attrition rate of over 60 percent in elementary school and 28 percent in high school, these students might be better prepared for the competition which confronts them in college life than would their non-native peers. But of course this is not so. Indeed, on the college level the native student is twice as likely to fail. An examination of his social behavior in the college situation may provide some clues:

Characteristically, the native student rarely mixes socially with non-natives. Despite the fact that virtually no racial discrimination exists among members of the student body, he is likely to avoid contact with them and to remain a member of a small, isolated group. He will choose other native students for roommates and will sit at their table for all meals. He does this from habit and also because of strong social pressures within his own group which ties him to them. If he chooses to socialize elsewhere he is often ostracized—which is, for the native who wishes to retain his racial identity, a most painful experience. In fact, the student in this situation often finds that he must make a choice—to remain a member of the native student group with certain social guarantees or to be shunned by them entirely and to try to establish a social relationship with non-natives who may not understand his ways.

For the native student who comes from a segregated school this period of adjustment can be particularly devastating. Typically he does not come from a city but rather from a small isolated community far removed from major population centers. Until he enters college he has had little contact with non-natives, other than his teachers. He has received a formal Western education, yet has not lived in Western culture. Consequently, though he is far from being fully Westernized, he has become gradually estranged from his original culture. Returning home each summer, he finds only the vestiges of his formerly comfortable family relationship, and encounters increasing frustrations because of the differences between himself and his village. His contact with Western education has taught him to respect (though not necessarily to understand) Western standards and at the same time it has decreased his respect for his native culture. He finds himself, figuratively, with a foot in each culture, unable fully to identify with either group and accepted by neither as well.

To compound his problems, the value systems of the village and the dominant culture can be confusingly unlike. One may take an example from the largest group of Alaskan natives, the Eskimo. The value system in which the Eskimo operates bears a striking contrast to that of the West: Whereas in American society strong emphasis is placed upon individual achievement, in the Eskimo world strong negative pressures are exerted upon the assertive individual who strives to excel. Hence, social classes or hierarchically arranged status positions do not exist. In an environment where survival is marginal at best, the likelihood of individual achievement at the expense of the group is a pervasive fear. Thus, egalitarianism is equated with survival.

Egalitarianism presents real problems in the Western classroom where academic success is measured by the active participation of the individual student. The Eskimo student desires not to be outstanding lest he arouse the jealousy and ill will of others. Further, the deep-seated value orientation of the Eskimo does not permit him to be motivated by the usual rewards which are so successful with middle-class white students; praise or prizes often prove to be a source of embarrassment rather than encouragement. The Western notion of progress emerging from the "healthy clash of ideas" is in direct variance with his culture. Yet, in many areas of life where survival of the group is not involved, the individual is allowed a great deal of latitude in making his own decisions. In these respects the Eskimo places greater value on the integrity of the individual than is true in Western society.

"It's My Problem"

Seymour Parker[1] found in his interviews with parents of high school drop-outs that over 90 percent of them had not told their parents of their decision to leave school. The parents felt it was none of their business.

Many teachers and mental health personnel who work with the Eskimo have noted that he has difficulty in verbalizing and communicating his subjective reactions to situations; when something is bothering him, he is unlikely to communicate it even to his peers or to his family. Parker quotes a young Eskimo man who is on the staff of Mt. Edgecumbe High School, the largest U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school, who explains this problem in this fashion:

> Still another thing that causes trouble sometimes is that the Eskimos, if they have trouble or something is bothering them, they just bottle it up and keep it to themselves and don't tell anyone about it till it gets so bad that it makes them just miserable, and they want to

> leave. Everyone is surprised because they didn't know it, but they were probably having trouble for a long time. I'm that way myself—just can't help it. I think that sometimes the Eskimo thinks that if he has trouble, it's for himself; it's nobody else's business. Maybe he is ashamed or afraid to talk to anybody. (Why?) Because he thinks that they wouldn't be interested. He might just be bothering them. He doesn't think his problem is important to anybody else. (How about his parents back home? Does he tell his problems to his parents?) No, even at home I remember it was that way with me. When I had this problem I almost never discussed it with my parents. People didn't do this. You felt the same way as I said, it was your problem and you felt it wouldn't interest anybody else, even your parents. So you kept it to yourself.[2]

This condition adds yet another dimension to the Eskimo student's isolation; not only are his people geographically dispersed without the bonds of common dialect or written communication, even within the tight familial and peer group structure in his own village he is isolated with problems he cannot share.

Coupled with this inability to externalize his feelings is the native student's seemingly easy acceptance of defeat. Although the Eskimo strives mightily with nature in order to survive, he is inclined to regard natural forces to be beyond his control. He does not view his future as being capable of change by dint of his own efforts. Hence, long-range educational or occupational goals are not easily perceived by the Eskimo students, who may regard the workings of the academic world to be as mighty and mysterious and incapable of alteration as those of nature.

These, then, are the problems with which the educator who deals with Alaskan native students must come to terms. When Alaskan teachers are asked what they believe to be the cause of the natives' academic difficulties, the quick reply is "lack of language skills." If this is indeed the real problem, why has it not responded to treatment? Why has exposure to a standard Western curriculum not equipped these students to deal with the English language by the 12th grade?

Language Skills As Key

Perhaps we have been treating the symptoms and not the underlying problem, which is simply that one cannot fully understand a language at the dictionary level. Language is a code intelligible only to those who live within a given culture. If one agrees that in the Eskimo culture—one in which survival depends upon hunting ability and group cooperation—a language has developed which embodies their philosophy and attitudes and reflects their values, then it can be seen that our language *also* reflects these elements of our culture and cannot be separated from them.

To the white man, the Eskimo language seems terse and telegraphic. To the Eskimo, English seems rambling and prolix. When one realizes that in Eskimo there are no words for hello and goodbye, is it any wonder that our concepts of introduction, body and conclusion—which we unconsciously employ in our writing, our music and in our conversation—are difficult for the Eskimo student to comprehend?

I submit that we can give the native student quick courses in speed reading, vocabulary building by rote learning and language laboratory exercises in accent removal and intonation improvement and will not have improved his ability to communicate in the slightest. These *are* problems to be sure but they are peripheral to the Alaskan native's central problem and cannot be dealt with until he has developed a conceptual knowledge of English.

How can this be achieved unless one transplants the native to a teeming Western metropolis somewhere and allows him to enter into the pace of Western living? Perhaps we should consider first just what we wish to accomplish with this acculturation process. Do we wish to convert the native to our Western ways and divorce him completely from his native background? Or do we wish to acquaint him with the best our society has to offer and allow him to choose those elements from it and from his original culture that he wishes to accept? The answer is obvious. If we speed his acculturation at the expense of his native cultural background we have cut him off at the roots and destroyed his identity.

If we agree that the native's central problem of language stems from his limited background, then his background of direct experience within the Western culture must be broadened in some way before we can expect him to become a productive member of our society.

Orientation Program Really Worked

Our summer orientation program for entering Alaskan native freshmen held during the regular six-week summer session approaches this communication problem in some unique ways. Although time does not permit a full description of the program, some features of it may serve to clarify our philosophy:

1. The student lives with a Western family on or near the campus for the period of the program. In this way he can observe the day-to-day operation of a Western family unit. He can also actively participate in the family activities to the extent that he wishes.
2. The student enrolls in a typical freshman level course with other summer school students and receives credit upon its successful completion. The course, *Introduction to the Study of Man*, is taught by an anthropologist whose specialty is arctic peoples. He meets separately with the program students in a Native Culture Seminar for an hour each day and relates the general concepts taught in the course to the culture of contemporary native Alaskans. In this session the native students feel freer to ask questions and participate in discussion. The students are encouraged to view their own culture and the Western one with objectivity as an anthropologist might.
3. The students attend daily Language and Communications sessions taught jointly by an English teacher and a speech specialist in which concepts taught in Anthropology class are expanded and discussed. Writing is taught as an outgrowth of speaking.

Provocative films and books are used which deal with other peoples in transition. These, we find, provide materials for lively discussions. Visits and field trips reinforce the concepts which are introduced.

4. The students meet with the program psychologist for discussion sessions in which certain psychological concepts are explored: How do we learn? How do we employ psychological insights in our day-to-day living? Attitudinal tests (Osgood's Semantic Differential) and intelligence tests are administered to all students before and after the program.

Wherever possible we tried to integrate all the material presented in the program. For example, when the anthropologist was presenting a unit on justice, the students had just finished reading and discussing *Mr. Johnson*, Joyce Carey's fictional work dealing with cross-cultural problems in the court system in British colonial Africa. In the seminar with the anthropologist they discussed conflicting concepts of justice within their own village. In the Language and Communication sessions they saw and discussed the film, *Twelve Angry Men*, an excellent treatment of our American judicial system.

When, at the end of the week they were invited to visit the chambers of a Superior Court judge and to witness the final day of a local murder trial they had no difficulty in understanding what they saw. The concepts of "reasonable doubt" and "burden of proof" and "innocent until proven guilty" now have meaning and significance which they did not have before. Using the language of semantics, we could say that we are giving each word a concrete meaning by providing a referent for it.

We evaluated the program in several ways. Naturally we are watching the academic and social performance of our program students although we have no real control group with which to compare them. Certain changes in attitude were noted over the period of the program:

1. The reported feeling of stress or discomfort about entering college dropped significantly after the six-week session. The "before" median word chosen from the checklist was *timid;* afterwards, on representation of the same checklist the median word chosen to describe one's feeling about entering college was *comfortable*. The possible words ranged from *wonderful* to *scared stiff*.

2. The anxiety level of our students as measured by a standard academic instrument was the same as that of non-program students enrolled in the same anthropology course, which in turn equalled nationwide norms for college students. (This test is the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale, based upon items from M.M.P.I.).

3. The results with the semantic differential are a mixed bag. On the one hand, *snow* and *your village* have moved in the direction of

> less involvement, but *fishing* and *your village* are evaluated as better afterward. *Yourself, native* and *caucasians* showed no change, which is a disappointment. The reduced value of *money* and the increased value of *love* can be considered, perhaps, as benefits of the program. Significant gains in intelligence test scores were noted regardless of the order in which they were given.

Positive Reactions

At the conclusion of the program the students were given a 30-page evaluation form, to be submitted anonymously, in which they were asked to rate the worth and the interest value of each aspect of the program. These are some of their responses about the program in general:

"I think I'm more confident than I was before. I'm definitely not the same person that left home."

"I think I'm able to discuss things more easily than I have at the beginning. My thoughts have changed from home life to everybody, and how they live, etc."

"I've got a wider view of the world around me and my responsibilities in this world."

Their reactions to the home-living aspect of the program were generally positive:

"They took me into the family. I didn't feel like an outsider anymore after the first few days."

"The hospitality and kindness of many people have helped me even though they may not have realized it. . . . I don't know what I would have done this fall without the program."

"The friendship I made with them (host parents) is what I will remember them for."

"I'm going to spend an extra week with them after the program is over."

We recognize that acculturation cannot be effected in a six-week, a six-month or even a six-year program. It must begin with the earliest school experiences of the native child and develop through a curriculum designed specifically to meet his needs. Parents must see the need for such an education and be included in its planning and implementation. The dramatic modification in methodology and materials which the problem demands can be hastened only by educational experiments with demonstrably beneficial results. We think that our *College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives*[3] is a significant step in this direction.

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Sparrow Hawk

Truett L. Hilliard

In the beginning all was dark
And dark was all
In, around and over the world.
That is all.
It was dark.
Flying low or high
In the obsidion sky
Flew sparrow hawk and sparrow.
They sang.
In the song of hawk was heard the scream
And in the scream was seen the dream of sparrow.
And in the dream that sparrow dreamed
There was hawk.
A young hawk in the obsidion sky.
Dreamed the sparrow and sang the last note.
He sang it again, again and again.
The sparrow also sang on and on . . . till the end.
And from the dead-bird-down of falling sparrow
Thundered the storm clouds drum
And it was rain.
Rain—
It was falling when the dim dead sun
Sputtered, and then again and again
And then into flame—
While a young hawk screamed
And a wild sparrow dreamed of another world
Lost and gone . . . but found again.

Teaching English to Alaska Natives

Lee H. Salisbury
Vol. 6, No. 2

Communication is one of the world's most pressing problems today. Whether it is between nations or persons, the basics of understanding in the fullest semantic sense is an ultimate goal. This problem is well-illustrated with the following essay:

> Two boys were friends. They lived near each other. One boy was from the States, the other was an Alaskan. They lived in a small village. The two usually had fun together, but at times they had trouble communicating.
>
> Like the time they were going swimming. The native boy said he would not swim on that day because the water was not clear. He believed he would surely drown if he swam on such a day. The water was not right. The other boy said where he came from, they swam at any time. But the native boy would not swim.
>
> One day Mike (the native boy) took his .22 rifle to hunt some muskrat. It was early morning and all the birds were singing. The sun was coming up as he spotted a muskrat far off, near the edge of the lake. He worked his way around the lake so that he could get to where he had seen it. He was in thick brush when he heard the call of the geese not far away. He quickly dropped to a dry spot and watched motionlessly as a large flock of geese flew directly overhead. They were Canadian geese flying gracefully in formation, the leader calling out loudly and his followers giving a soft reply to assure him all was well. They were so close to Mike that he could hear their wings whistle as they passed by.
>
> They came from far away, Mike thought, and now they were nearing their nesting grounds. The whole country was theirs, for they could go anywhere they pleased. Mike envied the freedom of the wild geese. Sure, they had their troubles, but if they survived it was worth it just to be so free from the rest of the world. No complex way of life to live; no certain rules to follow; and no independent thinking. They knew all they had to know.
>
> Mike shot the muskrat he had set out to get, put it with the others in his pack and headed homeward.
>
> As he neared home, he saw Sam. Sam came to greet him. Seeing the bulge in Mike's pack he asked, "Gee, how was your luck? Tell me about the hunt."
>
> Mike thought of the geese. How could he tell Sam of how he longed to be one of them? How could he put in words what he felt so that this unknowing outsider would understand?
>
> "I saw . . . flock of geese," Mike said simply.

This Eskimo student's feelings about the life of the geese as compared with his own reflect the nostalgia and regret which many Alaskan native people feel about leaving their old way of life. This is the way things used to be. But the younger generation of Alaska natives realize that the old way of life is changing and will continue to change whether they resist it or not. Yet we are expecting these people to make the jump in one lifetime which took the western world hundreds of years.

This student speaks for a minority group of unique nature and immense proportions. Of the 226,000 total Alaskan population, according to the 1960 census, only 146,000 can be considered to be non-transient.[1] Of this number 43,000, or almost 30 percent of the permanent state population are Alaska natives: Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut.

Unlike cultural minorities in other states, the Alaska native has not been deliberately segregated from the white population. There are no tribal reservations of the type which exist in the lower 48 states and comparatively little discrimination exists. Yet the Alaska native has been unable to assume the rights and responsibilities of full citizenship and continues to be a ward of the federal government.

There have been several important indications recently that the native population itself is aware of its lack of representation and is motivated to do something about it. A strong native rights association has been formed in Fairbanks which is urging educational reform. A weekly newspaper, *Tundra Times*, attempts to present the native's point of view on matters of public concern. The Alaskan native finds that it is no longer possible to remain isolated from the dominant, culture which presses in upon him from every side. He is, inexorably, in transition toward a culture in which he must find a place. He must communicate his needs and feelings in a strange society which does not understand him; yet, he must go forward.

By most standards, Alaskan native peoples can be considered to be among the most isolated ethnic groups in our entire country. Geographically, they are scattered throughout a land mass one-fifth the size of the lower 48 states. Although many native families have migrated to larger urban communities, the majority of them continue to live in small villages ranging in size from 50 to 1,500 persons, along the seacoast and the navigable rivers and creeks inland. Few of the smaller villages have telephones, fewer have running water, and only a small proportion can pick up an AM radio signal. Most of them are inaccessible by road. Bush plane, dog sled, small boats, or the recently introduced snow vehicles are the chief modes of transportation to and from the settlements. Prior to white contact, many of the northern people were nomadic family groups who followed their food supply — the caribou herds. With the establishment of churches, missions, schools and hospitals much of the nomadic movement has ceased. Compulsory education laws have required that families remain close enough to population settlements so that their children can attend school. During the summer, families migrate to their traditional camping spots where a good supply of fish may be caught and preserved for the coming winter. To a great extent, the village people still rely upon hunting and fishing for subsistence.

Preservation of Language

Communication between natives living in cities and their relatives and friends in the village is often accomplished via tape recorder. The recipient in the village, if he is too poor to afford a machine, is often allowed to use the one belonging to the school. Because none of the Alaska native peoples has a written language, this new mode of transmitting the spoken word has become extremely important. It also may be, in some measure, responsible for the preservation of the native language. However, not all Alaskan natives in a particular area can communicate with each other orally. The Tsimpsian, Haida and Tlingit Indian peoples in the southeastern panhandle speak different languages. The Aleut language spoken along the Chain and on the Pribilof Islands, although derived from the same source as the Eskimo, is understood nowhere else. The Athapaskan Indians of the northern interior region show profound dialectal differences, and the Eskimo, who represents the largest segment of the native population, may not be understood by his neighbor a few hundred miles away.

Complicating the Alaskan native's problem of geographic and linguistic isolation is his cultural attitude toward sharing problems. Many teachers and mental health personnel have noted that he has difficulty in verbalizing and communicating his subjective reactions to situations; when something is bothering him, he is unlikely to communicate it even to his peers or to his family.[2]

This condition adds yet another dimension to his isolation. Not only are his people geographically dispersed without the bonds of common dialect or written communication; even within the tight familial and peer group structure of his own village he may be isolated with problems he cannot share.

Perhaps we can better understand the communication problems of the Alaskan native peoples by examining the child rearing practices of the largest Alaskan native ethnic group, the Eskimo. From a very early age the Eskimo child is trained to "fit in" to his society. Whereas the western child is often encouraged to excel, the Eskimo child is trained to conform — to become "just like the others." This training consists of casual but consistent encouragement in the techniques of survival. Affirmative rather than negative means are used: For example, if a child walks dangerously near a hot stove, or toddles over toward the edge of a swollen river, his elders will say in a friendly fashion, "*tai tai*" (or roughly, "Come, come, see what you are doing?"). Stories which stress the terrible consequences of non-conformity are repeatedly told to children. Much of the folklore is allegorical. Modes of behavior and social attitudes are reinforced in this way.

Ostracism is an extremely potent means of social control among the native peoples. In a society which is small, isolated, and extremely homogeneous, any violation of the social code becomes a matter of group concern. Each member of this tightly-knit group depends for his existence upon his fellows. Without their cooperation and help he will not survive. His survival in another sense depends upon his group. He maintains his identity by fulfilling his role as a group member. Should he act in a fashion which endangers the physical survival of the group, he is cut off from them. People ignore him — he no longer exists — in a sense, he is symbolically "killed' by ostracism. In this sense, the western expression, "we cut him dead," is remarkably applicable.

By the time the native child reaches the age of seven, his cultural and language patterns have been set and his parents are required by law to send him to school. Until this time he is likely to speak only his own local dialect of Indian, Aleut or Eskimo, or if his parents have had some formal schooling he may speak a kind of halting English.

No Turning Back

He now enters a completely foreign setting — the western classroom situation. His teacher is likely to be a Caucasian, who knows little or nothing about his cultural background. He is taught to read the *Dick and Jane* series. Many things confuse him: Dick and Jane are two *gussuk*[3] children who play together. Yet, he knows that boys and girls do not play together and do not share toys. They have a dog named Spot who comes indoors and does not work. They have a father who leaves for some mysterious place called "office" each day and never brings any food home with him. He drives a machine called an automobile on a hard covered road called a street which has a policeman on each corner. These policemen always smile, wear funny clothing and spend their time helping children to cross the street. Why do these children need this help? Dick and Jane's mother spends a lot of time in the kitchen cooking a strange food called "cookies" on a stove which has no flame in it.

But the most bewildering part is yet to come. One day they drive out to the country which is a place where Dick and Jane's grandparents are kept. They do not live with the family and they are so glad to see Dick and Jane that one is certain that they have been ostracized from the rest of the family for some terrible reason. The old people live on something called a "farm," which is a place where many strange animals are kept — a peculiar beast called a "cow," some odd looking birds called "chickens" and a "horse" which looks like a deformed moose. And so on. For the next 12 years the process goes on. The native child continues to learn this new language which is of no earthly use to him at home and which seems completely unrelated to the world of sky, birds, snow, ice, and tundra which he sees around him.

In addition, the student is likely to lose his original language in the education process. His teachers do not speak his language nor do they encourage its use during school hours. In many schools students are absolutely forbidden to use the native language. Therefore, many native students come to feel that the language of their parents is undesirable and inferior.

Since the economy of the average native family in Alaska is marginal, at best, there are often strong pressures from the home for the child to leave school and help his family in its daily struggle for survival. The father needs his sons to help him hunt and fish; the mother needs her daughter to help at home with the children. So it is not surprising that 60 percent of native youngsters never reach the eighth grade.

By the time that the native student from a bush community reaches high school age it is necessary for him to leave his home and village to attend a boarding high school for four years. Here he lives in a dormitory with other Alaskan natives and his sole contact with western culture is through his teachers and text books. When he returns to his village each summer, he finds only vestiges of his formerly comfortable family relationship, and he encounters increasing frustrations because of the differences between himself and his village. His exposure to western education has taught him to respect (though not necessarily to understand) western standards, and at the same time it has decreased his respect for the native culture. He finds himself, figuratively, with a foot in each culture, unable fully to identify with either group and accepted by neither as well.

The male student finds that he is no longer of any use to his father as a hunter or a fisherman; he has lost his status as a male member of his village. The girl who returns often finds the sanitary conditions in the village hard to adjust to. She has lost many of the domestic skills she may have had: skinning animals, cooking, making clothing. Many of her peers are already married and have children. Her ability to speak English and her new way of dress and behavior set her apart from the other village girls who may think she has become "too good" for them. All of these high school students — with the exception of the 28 percent who have dropped out along the way — are in the process of becoming what the anthropologists term "marginal" people: They have been swept along by a system which is estranging them from their friends and relatives back home.

For many of these students, high school graduation represents the point of no return. If they have come this far, it is unlikely that they will ever return to the village permanently. Unless they go farther, however, it is even more unlikely that they will be able to secure permanent jobs in the cities to which they migrate. Some of them choose to enter college.

College Environment

We first meet these students when they arrive in the fall. Most of them are unable to pay their own tuition expense, and so, upon declaration of the fact that they are one-quarter or more of native blood, receive Bureau of Indian Affairs scholarship money. One-eighth of last year's entering freshman class at the University of Alaska were Alaskan natives. Although they represent all three of Alaska's native ethnic groups, they are predominantly Eskimo. As entering freshmen they are joined by other Alaskan natives who have come from the larger cities in Alaska and have attended predominantly white high schools. These native students from urban schools are less likely to speak their original language and may be more racially dilute.

However, we quickly learn that percentage of white blood is no index of acculturation: One of our freshman boys, a graduate of Anchorage High School, plays flamenco guitar and recites Ferlinghetti with no trace of an accent — yet he is a pure blooded Eskimo. He stands in striking contrast to a blond, blue-eyed, fair-skinned, part Aleut girl from King Cove, who speaks with the characteristic native inflection and who mixes only with the other native students. Although it might seem that with a heterogeneous group of this kind it would be difficult to make generalizations, we can make certain predictions: More than 50 percent of them are likely to drop out at the end of their freshman year and less than two percent of them are likely to receive the baccalaureate degree at the end of four years. If we take last year's group of 50 entering freshmen as an example, and our dropout statistics prevail, 25 of them will not return to school this fall, and only one of them is likely to receive a degree at the end of four years.

It is a sad fact that the Alaskan native student, who somehow has managed to survive attrition rates of 60 percent in elementary school and 28 percent in high school, still finds the odds to be overwhelmingly against him by the time he reaches college. Why is he twice as likely to drop out in college as one of his non-native peers? A look at the social fabric of his culture may provide some clues:

Some years ago, I conducted the language portion of an enrichment program for native students from age 10 to grade 8. One of the questions we asked them was, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" We got the usual range of vocational choices — nurses, teachers, doctors, bush pilots — all vocations they could see around them. But several of the younger ones still reflected their parents' teaching: "A good seal hunter," said one boy; "A good berry picker," said a girl; and finally, the response which summed it all up: "Eskimo!"

To be a good Eskimo means that you stick with your group — you do not try to excel at the expense of others. In the environment of the arctic where survival is a daily problem, the likelihood of individual achievement at the expense of your group is a pervasive fear. Thus, you live cooperatively or you perish.

Translating this into terms of the western classroom means that the teacher cannot motivate the student with the rewards which are so successful with middle-class white students: Praise or prizes often prove to be a source of embarrassment rather than encouragement. Naturally, the western notion of progress emerging from the "healthy clash of ideas" is in direct variance with the native student's way of dealing with others. If he disagrees with you he will not tell you directly — this is not polite and it is pointless. He will either seem to agree with you or he will withdraw. His opinion will not change but you will never know this.

The group of college-bound native students, who have managed to survive 12 years of formal western education, have obviously had to do some competing in order to come this far. They have had to recognize that by deciding to continue their education they have violated the strong familial and group ties which bind their people together. In terms of their traditional culture they have acted selfishly and without thought of others. Yet they believe that by breaking away they can serve their group better. Some of their parents understand this and encourage them to continue their schooling. But for many of them it is a painful decision which is fraught with many misgivings. An older Eskimo man, an ivory carver who has been studying art at the University of Alaska for the past three years, writes nostalgically of his home on the Bering Sea:

> After all this hardship, one day I may return there. Look around me as far as the horizon if the weather is fine. Just keep wondering where even a small fish is when the sea gets rough. Watch the endless ice moving north wondering when it was formed. Travel on ice all morning instead of driven indoors by 50 below zero weather . . . bothered only by dogs or birds instead of machinery. I know for sure it will be quiet there on the day I arrived. But it will be a lonely spot for someone that believed will be cut away from the world.
>
> I hope I'll be depended upon by some of my friends — especially in drawing and printmaking. So some may achieve their beautiful work in their own way. I have thought of those — still I'll be thinking of going back where a printing press is. I may be glad to return but it will be hard to leave my new friends.

Innovation in Orientation

We have just completed the second year of a summer orientation program[4] which is designed to help the Alaskan native student to adjust to college life and to perceive and verbalize his problems freely. The focal point of the program is to improve his ability to communicate his thoughts and feelings to others. Our approach is predicated on the assumption that his imperfect use of English is due to the fact that, although he has received 12 years of formal western education, he has not lived within the western culture. His only contacts with Caucasians have been teachers, missionaries, and various public health and social workers he may have had occasion to meet. He has no *concrete* idea of the culture which his new language expresses. He has great gaps in his background which set him apart from rural youth in other parts of our country. I think we will agree that much of what we learn as we grow up is not from schoolbooks. We absorb it by our contacts with our families, our friends and our environment generally. It has been said that a person living in the mainstream of his culture is no more aware of it than a fish is aware of the water in which he swims.

Compounding the native's communication problem is the fact that he has come from a culture where he has been reinforced for reticence. Although he may have come from a high school where the students were encouraged to discuss and debate certain issues, if his classmates were all natives, it is unlikely that he has developed any real skill in expressing his ideas clearly and directly. He has never seen the lively exchange of opinions which (hopefully) characterizes the western college classroom. Our problem then is two-fold:

1. To broaden the student's background of experience within the western culture so that his conceptual knowledge of the English language will improve, and
2. To enable the student to realize that his thoughts and feelings are important and have real value when they are expressed clearly and effectively.

At the same time, we must examine our own motives in speeding the native student's acculturation process. Do we wish to convert him to our western ways (which we are often inclined to regard as superior) and divorce him completely from his native background? Or do we wish to acquaint him with the best our society has to offer and allow him to choose those elements from it and from his original culture that he wishes to accept? The answer is obvious. If we hasten his acculturation at the expense of his native cultural background, we have cut him off at the roots and destroyed his identity. On the other hand, he can develop a deeper appreciation of his original culture and an understanding of his adopted one if he is able to objectively compare them.

For this reason the program includes a regular freshman level anthropology course which he attends daily as a regular summer session student. The course is taught by an anthropologist whose specialty is Alaskan native cultures. After class the program students meet in an informal seminar situation in which the general concepts taught in the regular course are specifically related to the culture of contemporary native Alaskans. In this session many cross-cultural problems are discussed. At first the problems are suggested by the instructor but, as the sessions progress and the students come to know and trust the staff, they propose the problems themselves. From these informal bull-sessions came many insights which the students discussed and later wrote about in another part of the program, the Language and Communication sessions.

This class is taught jointly by a specialist in speech and an English teacher. Writing assignments always grow out of speaking experiences. Provocative films and books are used to spark discussion. For example, *The Miracle Worker*, the story of Helen Keller's first language experiences, is used as a springboard for the unit on language; *Raisin in the Sun*, a film dealing with the struggles of a Chicago Negro family, is used to explore minority group problems and the process of developing a self-image in depressed economic circumstances.

An exciting insight emerged one day during our discussion of this film. The students suddenly perceived a realtionship between Walter Lee's problem (the protagonist in the film) and their own. The question arose as to whether Walter Lee's old mother, the matriarch of the family, did the right thing in allowing him to make an unwise investment of $20,000 in a liquor store. Walter Lee has never had a chance to handle this much money before; yet, he was tired of being a chauffeur and wanted to change his luck. The audience could plainly see that he would lose the money. Two of the program students who came from a religious mission high school said that his mother had made a mistake — he was too innocent to handle money and could not be trusted to manage his own affairs. Other students immediately countered: "But he's 35 years old;" "He's a grown man with two children;" and one girl, who had never spoken up before, said with great emotion, "How is he ever going to learn unless he makes his own mistakes?" We had a full-fledged discussion on our hands for the first time.

Examples came thick and fast: "When they don't trust us in high school (referring to their boarding schools which are run in a regimented manner), we don't trust ourselves." Then came a description of how the rigidly structured schools from which they had come had never allowed them to make their own decisions . . . "you bathe at a certain hour" . . . "you eat at a certain time" . . . "you must go to the library at a certain time" . . . "you get your mail at a certain time" . . . "they lead us around by the hand" . . . "we want to grow up but they won't let us . . . " And then, finally, came the realization: "It's the same thing with our parents . . . *they* won't let them grow up either." For "they" we can substitute the government, the schools, the missionaries, in short — the Establishment.

From here on the discussion became freer. We could see a physical change come over many of the students. They seemed to stand straighter, to laugh more easily and less self-consciously and to be almost eager to express their opinions. If was as though by being able to express hostility toward certain Caucasians they had met that they had somehow liberated themselves.

Some of the students were able to write insightfully of their own problems in communication. A student from Selawik wrote the essay about the native boy and the geese quoted earlier and carefully labeled it "fiction." Another older student described a breakdown in communication within his own cultural group. Although the syntax is poor, the same elegaic mood is conveyed:

> Almost six years seem to be a long time to be away from King Island. Since then I've been working on mine fields and one time as a garage serviceman. It was little hard to settle back in King Island after all these years, to get new tools made up to carve ivory and to prepare new hunting equipment.
>
> Just before Christmas the young men decorated the classroom in the school building. For a week we held games in the evenings and had a good time. Everytime I was there I noticed a girl eyeing at me. We kept looking at each other all that time. I'd thought that this young lady wasn't just around ten years ago. But why didn't she do that among people her own age? Did she ever think I may have had other affairs while I was away?
>
> Of course I was getting interested in such a young, attractive-looking girl. Later we got acquainted starting from a card game. We waited on a meeting to be left alone by

> other people, and not be caught outdoors by a person on a porch with my arms around her.
>
> Six months later she refused my inquiry for marriage. I left the village again and heard she had married a young man from down the coast.
>
> A year later I met her again in Fairbanks. She was half-drunk on the streets. There on the roads I tried battling to free my arms from her strong grip. It was raining and people were looking at us from the cars. So I gave up the little struggle and joined her in a bar. She was accusing another girl in the city which was of no concern to me. So all that time it may be that our trouble is communication which is too late to be solved now.

Perhaps one of the most important parts of the broadening experiences which the program affords is the home-living aspect of the session. Rather than stay in the dormitory for the six-week period, each student lives with a carefully selected western family. In some cases it is possible to place the student with a family whose father is engaged in the profession he wishes to enter.

We have found that during the regular school year the native student rarely mixes socially with non-natives. Experience has shown that native students are inclined to eat together, room together and socialize within their own group. Strong social pressures are exerted by the group to preserve this unity. The native student who chooses to socialize outside of the group is often ostracized by them — a most painful experience if he is not yet secure enough to act independently.

Living with a family during the summer gives the student an opportunity to socialize and mingle with non-natives without the risk of social penalty from his own group. It affords him a glimpse of the kind of home and life he may someday decide he wants for himself. It allows him to meet and know people he might not otherwise encounter, and it gives him an understanding of the middle-class western family which he can acquire in no other way.

At the conclusion of the program each student was given a 13-page evaluation form, to be submitted anonymously, in which he was asked to rate the worth and interest value of each aspect of the program. These are some of their individual responses about the program in general:

> I never experienced such a free atmosphere before in school, in high school I was dominated by rules. Here I make my time and studying convenient for me.
>
> I truly enjoyed these six weeks here at the University and with (my host family). I know that in my years here, I will always have somewhere to go if I ever get lonely. I now have a second home.
>
> They weren't strangers anymore.
>
> I will always remember their kindness, consideration, helpfulness and the way they accepted me into their family. They will never be forgotten by me.
>
> I wish I didn't have to go back home. I want to stay here until I finish college then go back home.

> Everything is new and different, makes it fun to find new things. I'm beginning to know who I am and what I want to do. I'm not as confused as I usually am.
>
> My interest in outside things is improving. I find that it's more fun.
>
> I have a better look at the totality.
>
> I'm beginning to find out that I have to be independent in whatever I do. I plan to make mistakes on my own accord and not with someone else involved.
>
> I have found that in order to make friends all you have to do is to be friendly and talk.

We can make no real evaluations of the worth of this program until we can follow our students through college. Some of them will drop out of school for one reason or another, and certain benefits of the program may not accrue until these students have children and send them off to school. It is certain that acculturation cannot be effected in a six-week, a six-month or even a six-year program. It must begin with the earliest school experiences of the child and develop through a curriculum specifically designed to meet his needs. A dramatic modification in methodology and materials is necessary if we are to solve this problem. We hope that this pilot program represents a significant step toward the solution of many similar cross-cultural communication problems in the world today.

* * *

References

[1] The remaining 80,000 constitute: Military and dependents (75,000) and D. E. W. (Distant Early Warning) line personnel and dependents (5,000).

[2] Seymour Parker, "Eskimo and Indian Values and Motivation for Education in Three Selected Alaskan Villages," in *Alaska Native Secondary School Dropouts*, a Research Report, Charles K. Ray, Director, University of Alaska, 1962.

[3] Eskimo term for white person. Derived from Russian word, *Cossack*.

[4] *College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives*, project D-157 jointly supported by the Cooperative Research Bureau of the U. S. Office of Education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Alaska Division of Statewide Services will terminate in Fiscal 1968.

The Idea of Environment and the Ideal of the Indian

Rennard Strickland
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In the year 1744, a group of Iroquois met with commissioners from Virginia for the purpose of negotiating a treaty. The Virginians offered to educate half-a-dozen of the Indians' sons in the college at Williamsburg. The Iroquois response, reported by Benjamin Franklin, has become a classic statement of the problems of cross-cultural education. The Indians refused the Virginia offer, saying:

> You, who are wise, must know that different nations have different conceptions of things . . . Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the Northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences; but when they came back to us they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, nor kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor counselors — they were, therefore, totally good for nothing.[1]

There is a final portion of the statement of the Iroquois chief, rarely quoted, but which has much relevance for our discussion. The chief followed his refusal of the Virginia offer with a counter-offer of his own:

> To show our grateful sense of it, it the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them.[2]

We might have been wise to listen to the counsel of the American Indian and to have accepted his offer of education. The offer is, in a sense, still open for us today. We should, I believe, accept it. There is much we can learn from the American Indian as a part of our renewed study of man and his environment. Truly, ecology has become the issue of the decade. The magnitude of the crisis is well known. Mankind is, no doubt, faced with questions which will decide the issue of survival of the species.

If ecology has become the crusade of the seventies, then the Indian has likewise become the minority of the decade. The year 1970 has been called "the year of the Indian."[3] Almost every major magazine has recently carried a story on the Indians: A *Time* cover story was called

"Tonto Is Dead,"[4] and even *Playboy* featured two Indian articles (but no center-folds). The "Indian Movement" is said to be coming of age: Indians have their own protest folksinger in Buffy Sainte-Marie, a Cree, and there is talk of "Red Power" among the so-called "New Indians." And the year 1969 ended with that wonderful almost Gilbert-and-Sullivan seizure of Alcatraz.

We have all heard the bromide, "You cannot stop an idea whose time has come." May I suggest the idea whose time has come — the idea is that man must save his environment in order to save himself. May I even be bolder and suggest that in this quest our guiding vision must come, not from the sophisticated scientist, but from the materially impoverished, from the so-called primitive, from the American Indian. My contention is that the ideal of the Indian may make science worth saving. *It is not an accident that the idea of ecology and the ideal of the Indian should emerge simultaneously as national issues.*

What then can we learn from the Indian? There are, no doubt, many messages he might have for us, but I would like to stress only two of these. First, we can learn that we must have a vision for our life, a well-ordered and reasoned understanding of our goals. Second, we can learn that we must live in partnership with nature.

Quest for a Vision

Among the ancient customs of many tribes was a solitary visit, a contemplative journey into the wilderness. An Indian, before he became a man, before he was admitted to the warrior class, went alone into the mountains, into the desert, or into the forest where he sought a vision — a mystical experience.

While the quest differed from tribe to tribe (and some tribes did not even have this custom), the object was the same. The outcome of the experience might be a chant for protection, a design for a shield, or a sacred and personal song. Yet the fasting and praying always gave the Indian a vision of life — an ordering of his being.

Theodore B. Hetzel, professor of engineering at Haverford College, suggests that the modern American lacks the vision of the young warrior. He further argues that "seeking to atune our lives to harmony with the universe could have value" for us.[5] I think it is important that this suggestion came from a scientist such as Dr. Hetzel. The true scientist knows that science must be directed by the vision of the society it seeks to serve.

My suggestion is that the Indian can teach us to quest for a vision — a vision by which we can order our expectations of our relationship to science. We do not have to go to the mountains to search for this vision. All we need do is ask ourselves the hard, the difficult, the impossible ethical questions which must be answered to establish a rational order for our direction of the achievements of science.

We are not unlike our old friend the sorcerer's apprentice — maybe like Mickey Mouse playing the sorcerer's apprentice in a feature-length Walt Disney cartoon! We have failed to search for a vision, an order, a goal. We have looked for a scapegoat. We have tried to make the achievements of modern science the scapegoat. Science, however, is not the enemy. Science is but an apprentice, a handmaiden, the methodological tool. The real enemy is progress as the uncontested god-head of the age.

The late Richard M. Weaver argued in *Ideas Have Consequences* that progress was the "metaphysical handmaiden of science" and that in our worship at the font of technology we have become "ethical eunuchs." Why? Because progress is without relation to ideals — to a vision of order. Unregulated, unquestioned, progress becomes a self-fulfilling goal. In the final analysis "progress [Weaver contended] becomes the salvation man is placed on earth to work out."[6]

John Crowe Ransom (a most incisive thinker of the fugitive poets—Vanderbilt Agrarians) believed that progress, defined as conquest of nature, has no end. The result: a substitution of means for ends, a cycle in which one discovery, one new process, one new product, automatically, unquestioningly "progresses" to another.[7] When we do not exert an ethical judgment among the alternatives offered by scientific knowledge, we are abdicating to the machine our human decision-making power, our value-ordering function.

Appropriately, Professor Forbes, the Dutch technologist, closes his classic book, *The Conquest of Nature,* with an American Indian fable depicted on pre-Chimu pottery of about the year 1400. During an eclipse of the sun, the stones begin to grind the mortars and pestles march against their masters, all things mobilize. Forbes notes "there is a tendency to catch sight of that same frightening vision" in our times and "to blame our tools for showing malice because our world has gone wrong in so many ways."[8]

What does this all mean? We have failed in our duty to seek a vision — to weigh the costs and the benefits of technological progress. For example, the pill has been hailed as that most wonderful of all discoveries of mankind — a technological advance creating a sexual revolution by separating the sex act from reproduction. Doctors are now telling us that the price for this temporary distortion of the sexual function may be paid in blood clots, brain damage, and other unforeseen maladies.

We have a responsibility to assert a rational order in man's relationship with nature. We must have the humility to admit that we cannot win an unlimited war on nature. The concept of progress as salvation can no longer go unchallenged. We must have a vision of order. Our ultimate goals must be ultimate in a rational sense. We can no longer afford to be Weaver's "ethical eunuchs" enchanted by Circe's music found in the sounds of our own machines.

We need to take time to make value-based decisions, to discriminate, to tell the scientist, to tell the businessman, to tell the politician the things that we value. Are we willing to continue to pay the price in air pollution for unregulated automobiles? Do we know the costs for increased agricultural production through the use of chemical pesticides? We will have to engage in the difficult task of evaluating alternatives.

Relationship with Nature

Only through a rational understanding of mankind's dependency upon all of nature, can we make truly sound evaluations of the environmental alternatives. As seen by the Indian, there is a peculiarly strong unity between man and his world. In the introduction to our *Cherokee Spirit Tales* we explained the relationship this way:

> The life of the ancient Cherokee was guided by a deep faith in supernatural forces that linked human beings to all other living things. To these Cherokees every animal, every tree, every place, every manifestation of nature had its own spirit.[9]

The Cherokees have a myth, which the Kilpatricks took as the title for a wonderful book, *Friends of Thunder*, and which says much about the relationship of the Indian and nature. The relationship is, at best, a precarious one, but the friendship, the oneness, the partnership is there.

Loren Eiseley has written a beautiful explanation of man's relationship to nature which he calls "The Hidden Teacher." In that essay he describes a "long war of life against its inhospitable environment" — a war in which "nature does not simply represent reality . . . but [in which] nature teaches about reality."[10] In this book Eiseley relates the Blackfoot legend of an early people who were poor, naked, and did not know how to live. "Old Man, their maker, said: Go to sleep and get power [and] whatever animals appear in your dream, pray and listen."[11] That was how, in the Indian thinking, the first people got through the world — by the power of their dreams and the animal helpers.

Truly the Indian has a different way of looking at nature than those of us who worship the gospel of material progress. As the Spanish philosopher Ortega noted, "Two men may look from different viewpoints at the same landscape. Yet they do not see the same thing. Their different situations make the landscape assume two distinct types of organic structure in their eyes."[12]

Consider the landscape which our eastern Indians in Virginia confronted. The land was the landscape of the thick forest. William Faulkner was always disturbed, he told a Japanese audience, that "the forests are going, being replaced by machines." This was important to Faulkner who believed that the South was "the only authentic region in the United States, because (in the South) a deep indestructable bond still exists between man and his environment."[13]

In Paris, soon after he received his Nobel Prize, Faulkner had hinted at this. "I like silence," he said. "Silence and horses. And trees. You see what that big freeze last winter did to trees in Miss'ippi? Seems like it happens ever' year. I got these cedar trees growing along the front walk to my house. Tha freeze broke a heap of branches off them cedars."[14]

Faulkner's comment started me thinking about trees and Ortega's view that we look at the landscape and see different things. Differences in culture, I think, can be seen at this point. Let's take Faulkner's cedar trees and my tribe, the Cherokee, and have a look.

To many people, the tree is only so many board feet of lumber. They look at the tree and see graded timber, stacked, ready for sale. Willard Hurst, the great legal historian, has written a thousand page text on the timber industry in Wisconsin.[15] The tree has a clearly defined shape to the commercial mentality. Is this not the American way? The true folk-hero of our culture is not Johnny Appleseed but Daniel Boone; not Audubon but John Henry, the legendary steel drivin' man.

Mythical Origins of the Cedar

By way of contrast, look at at the Cherokees. When the Cherokee sees a cedar tree, he sees a mythical relationship of man and nature. Only recently did I find the rarely-told story of the origin of the cedar tree. There were, in Cherokee mythology, eight evil brothers: They "creeped into the sacred circle of the great spirit who created the Cherokee people. Unable to know the wisdom of the spirit world, they stole from the circle magical powers contained in the holy relics." The priests followed the brothers, who ran into the sky and formed one of the constellations. One of the brothers could not run fast enough and lost his balance. When he fell to the earth, the brother became the cedar tree. Today, the cedar oozes his sap, bleeding in this manner for his evil efforts to learn the secrets of the universe.[16]

Another Cherokee tree myth concerns the fir tree.

> When the world was young and spirits ruled the land, a little fir tree was growing in the yard of an old man. The man was cruel and chopped at the tree with an axe. Everytime he passed the little tree, the man would kick it.
>
> The tree determined that he would punish the man for his cruelty. When the tree got large enough to cast his shadow over the man, he would have his revenge. The years passed slowly and the tree grew until he was a large fir. And when he was large enough to cast a shadow over the man, he waited until the man came near. The tree summoned all his strength and pulled at his roots and shook his limbs. His trunk gave way and the fir tree fell on the cruel old man.
>
> Even to this day, the spirit of the fir tree of death rules the land of the Cherokees and no Cherokee will plant a fir because he knows that when the fir's shadow is long enough to cover his grave, the man who planted the tree will die.[17]

To extend this illustration just a little more, I believe that the greatest art in America today is the contemporary American Indian art. It is a tragedy that more Americans do not know the works of Fred Beaver (Eka La Nee), Joan Hill (Che Sequah), David Williams (Tos Que), Terry Saul, Donald Vann, Blackbear Bosin. At the apex of this art is the wood sculpture of men like the Apache Allen Houser, the Cheyenne Dick West, and the Cherokee Willard Stone.

When Willard Stone, for example, looks at a piece of wood, he has both the eye of the Indian and the eye of the artist. To him, it is not timber, the first step on a new porch, but a story coming from the grain of an uncut piece of wood. One of Willard's great pieces is "Young Rabbithawk." In that wood sculpture, the mystical relationship between Willard Stone, the Cherokee Indian, and the creatures of nature show through. The wood is smooth, the natural formations in the tree make the bird's feathers, his face, and the heart on his chest. In turn, the "Young Rabbithawk" symbolizes the Cherokee Indian as he looks out on the modern world. Surely Ortega was correct!

When I was an undergraduate it was quite fashionable, among those of us who fancied ourselves intellectuals, to laugh at Margaret Mead. I don't know if it still is. I do know that I have learned an immense amount from a little book that Dr. Mead has just published. In *Culture and Commitment,* she draws the picture of older societies in which the life of the youngest generation will be almost exactly like the life of the oldest generation — a society in which there is little change. In such a society the grandfather figure is most important.[18]

We, on the other hand, live in a society in which change is so rapid that none of the oldest generation has lived a life closely resembling the one that the youngest generation is living. In such a society the value of the grandfather adviser is minimized. I suggest we look to the American Indian as a grandfather figure for us all.

The grandfather in Indian society was the teacher. Pablito Velarde, Pueblo artist, and Oscar Howe, Sioux, have created magnificent paintings of the Indian grandfather, the storyteller, the teacher. Such a teacher would not be outdated in Dr. Mead's changing society. Using the Indian as the teacher would help us through the uncertainty of change.

Now I am not suggesting that we become mesmerized into a new age of the noble savage but that in two important areas we cannot afford to turn our back on the Indian's teaching. *WE* need a quest for a new vision of life, a proper ordering of our expectations of science, a partnership with nature. The survival of mankind may well depend upon these decisions.

How can we learn these things which the Indian has to offer? How can we teach them? The answer is not simple. We can begin by teaching the art, literature, music, and dance of the native American. Why are the tales of the Brothers Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen, and the politically-minded Mother Goose a better fare for American children than the friendship of thunder and the origin of corn?

Last fall I reviewed *House Made of Dawn,* the Pulitzer Prize novel of N. Scott Momaday, a Kiowa Indian. I concluded the review thusly: "This prize raises anew the basic question of when we will accord to native literature — the large body of poetry and prose which comprises the oral tradition of the American Indian — recognition as an art form?" I argued that "after all, the folklore of the Indian is the literature of America . . . Is it trite to say the Indian sings the songs of our forests, of our birds, of our souls?" My answer then, and now, is No! His world is our world. He is of America. And he is America. There has never been a time when we need his help so much. The idea of ecology demands the ideal of the Indian.[19]

D. H. Lawrence, who came to love the American Southwest and her native people, is reported to have said that the Indian will again rule America — or rather, his ghost will. This had special relevance in view of something that Thoreau said — the Indian has property in the moon. I would suggest that in 1969 by walking on the moon, we learned that our salvation must come from the Earth. As William Brandon, editor of the *American Heritage Book of Indians,* has prophesied, "the business of the Indian . . . may turn out to be the illumination of the dark side of the soul, maybe even our soul."[20]

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[15] James Willard Hurst, *Law and Economic Growth: The Legal History of the Lumber Industry in Wisconsin, 1836-1915* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1964). No book better illustrates this concern with nature as an economic resource.

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A Closer Look at TESL on the Reservation

Yvonne J. Weaver
Vol. 6, No. 2

Each year an increasing number of students are graduated from grammar and high schools in the Southwest using language patterns which are a detriment to them in an English speaking world. A formidable crop of youngsters is emerging who normally speak in sentences such as, "My fodder she has many horse.", "I see the a ret birt.", and "I want some pencil." These children are graduated from school systems which spend a great deal of money and time in consideration and purchase of language materials. They are graduated from school systems which are concerned with the language development of their students. And they are graduated from school systems which employ normally proficient, dedicated teachers. Yet these same school systems are producing children who speak with practically none of the proficiency which could be expected of them. Why?

When we examine some of the programs in use by the schools, indications of the causes behind this sort of language development are found. Most reservation children do not enter school as native English speakers, and they must approach learning English as the learning of a foreign language. One of the chief goals of language teaching is to enable the learner to produce the sound system of the target language with native or near native faithfulness. If we deviate too far from this goal the communication function of language is thwarted. When the sounds of a language are omitted or distorted beyond a certain tolerance it is impossible to understand what is being said.

How then do programs in use further this chief goal of mastery of the sound system of English? Let's examine some supplementary materials designed to correct sound production which accompanies one to the standard basal series. The material identifies sounds which are frequently difficult for native English speaking children as: s, z, th, r, l, j, ch, sh, k, g, f, and v. Of these sounds, the th, r, f, v, and k in final position, are also difficult for Navajo children. On the other hand, the basal series material identifies sounds which rarely cause difficulty for native English speaking children as: p, b, m, w, t, d, and n.[1] It is noteworthy that of these sounds which normally present little difficulty, all but the "w" are problems for Navajo children. Even a conscientious application of this material would leave many pronunciation problems incurred in the mastery of a foreign sound system virtually untouched.

What then of the English as a Second Language programs which receive a good deal of emphasis in most of these school systems? While most of these programs are basically sound, it is worthwhile to remember that many commercial TESL programs are constructed with a Spanish-English bias, and that they approach language study with this bias. Generally included in the materials of the schools' curriculum are TESL texts, which are conceived in the linguistic method. The authors of these texts advocate the mastery of the sound system of a target language through: 1. Facilitating the auditory discrimination of phonemes of the target language which are foreign to the native language of the learner in either position or formation, and 2. Practicing these sounds in context until the learner can reproduce them adequately.

A typical exercise designed to facilitate the auditory discrimination and production of difficult English sounds is the following. Children are asked to listen to the [ae] sound that they hear in "Adams" among a list of words that the teacher will read to them. As the teacher says the words "Anderson," "morning," "live," "Albert," "years," "afternoon," "old," "Jackson," "name," "Adams," and "you," the children are to write down the words which contain the [ae] sound.[2] The [ae] is one of the sounds which is difficult for many non-native English speaking children to hear and produce, but for *which* non-native English speaking children? This sound appears to be particularly difficult for Spanish speaking children. The [ae] presents little difficulty for Navajo speaking children.

This exercise demonstrates but one aspect of the Spanish-English bias of most nationally used "English as a Second Language" programs. Because of this bias the programs approach the English sound system by emphasizing sounds which are difficult for Spanish speakers. Navajo children could spend their time more effectively mastering sounds which present difficulties to Navajo speakers.

The problems incurred while trying to teach Navajo children the English sound system through the media of materials designed with a Spanish-English bias are magnified when we try to teach Navajo children English structure through the use of these same materials. Whereas the first goal of language learning is the mastery of the sound system of the target language, the second goal is mastery of the basic sentence structure of that language. Here again Navajo speakers encounter certain difficulties. Some of these difficulties are shared with other non-native speaking groups, and some of these difficulties are peculiar to the Navajo.

A partial list of difficulties which the Navajo are likely to encounter is the following:

1. Distinction of number.
2. Expression of possession.
3. Application of adjective to noun.
4. Distinction of gender.
5. Usage of subject and object.
6. Usage of definite and indefinite articles.
7. Usage of definite and indefinite pronouns.
8. Usage of correct verb inflections.
9. Usage of negative questions.

We have said that most of the English as a second language programs in national use are constructed with a Spanish-English bias. A sample comparison of the causes of difficulties encountered by Navajo speakers with causes of difficulties encountered by Spanish speakers learning English is enlightening. The following sentences compare the way the three languages convey number, gender, and article. An "X" is marked over each meaning indicator as it appears in each of the three languages.

X X X
English: The three horses are here.

X X X X
NUMBER: Spanish: Los tres caballos estan aquí.
(The three horses are here.)

Navajo: Łį́į́ táá' go'éé kǫ́ǫ́ naazí.
(Three horse standing.)

In the English sentence indication of number appears in the adjective, noun and verb. The Spanish sentence indicates number by all of the devices employed in the English sentence, and in the article as well. A direct translation of the English word order is acceptable to native Spanish speakers. The Navajo sentence indicates number only in the adjective and verb. The noun is not used as a device to convey number. Word order of the Navajo sentence differs significantly from that of either English or Spanish.

X
English: I gave the ball to the boy.

X X X X X
GENDER: Spanish: Le di la pelota al nino.
(Him I gave the ball to the boy.)

X
Navajo: 'Ashkii jooł baa ni 'ą́.
(Boy ball I gave.)

In the English sentence indication of gender appears in the noun and pronoun, and could at times be implied by the adjective. Spanish indicates gender not only in nouns, pronouns and adjectives, but in articles as well. Spanish also assigns gender to inanimate objects, a custom which English normally does not employ. When the word order of the Spanish and English sentences are compared here, only the placement of the indirect object is different. In the Navajo sentence, gender is indicated only in the noun, and the Navajo word order could not be transferred readily to the English sentence.

X X X
English: The boys took the girls to the dance.

X X X
ARTICLES: Spanish: Los muchachos llevaron las muchachas al baile.
(The boys took the girls to the dance.)

Navajo: 'Ashiikéga' 'at'éeke da 'azhishgóó yił naaskai.
(Boys girls dance took.)

In the English sentence the articles are used to indicate following nouns. The articles also indicate that the noun has or has not been previously identified. In the Spanish sentence, the articles indicate not only that a noun follows and that it has or has not been previously identified, but the articles also indicate both the number and gender of the following noun. The English word order of the sentence would be acceptable to the native Spanish speaker. In the Navajo sentence there are no words which are comparable to the articles and their uses as they are employed in both the English and the Spanish language. The Navajo student would not be able to employ the word order of his native language in the English sentence without achieving a very stilted, foreign effect.

An initial examination of the comparison drawn between these three languages, English, Spanish and Navajo, shows clearly that many of the difficulties encountered by the Navajo student present little or no difficulty to the Spanish student attempting to learn English. When presented to the Spanish student, they are simplifications rather than complications of his native system. In aspects such as employment of meaning devices and word order, Spanish and English are quite similar. Since English and Spanish are both members of the Indo-European family of languages, this similarity is to be expected and is not surprising. Navajo, an Athabascan language, can be expected to differ from English in great extremes, and it does.

What are some indications of this comparison? First, it is clear that a language program designed to teach students whose native language is relatively close to the target language would differ significantly from a program designed to teach students whose native language differs from the target language to the extremes. This is true even though the underlying linguistic principles of both language programs are identical.

Second, it is evident that neither the English nor the Navajo languages can be reordered to eliminate or modify these differences, and that since English is the target language, language teaching must be approached through the aspect of English structure. While the sound system or structure of English cannot be changed so that it is more compatible with the sound system and structure of Navajo, as is the case with English and Spanish, a program can be developed which offers compensation for these differences. Areas wherein the Navajo and English systems differ greatly must be programmed with care; they should be extended and given greater emphasis in the language program.

The factors mentioned above are by no means all inclusive in regard to the retarded language development of many Indian students, but they do merit careful consideration by those people who are concerned with the education and language development of these pupils.

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Appendix

"Hualapai Scout" from a photo
by Barry Goldwater
Published in *The Face of Arizona*

Larry Toschik

A Biographical Sketch

Artist Larry Toschik was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1922. His talent, emerging early, earned for him many local, state and national awards; and, ultimately, a scholarship to the Wisconsin Art Academy.

During the late 1930's, he left school temporarily to explore the West. Crossing the northern states on foot, he reached Great Falls, Montana, where he found work on a local ranch. He gathered logs, worked with Blackfoot Indians to construct the Montana Cowboy Association Log Cabin Museum, and engaged in ranch work and other outdoor activities which were later reflected in his work.

Although his formal art education was interrupted by World War II and a tour of duty with the Infantry in Italy, the opportunity to study at first hand the work of Renaissance masters was an inspiration. Work he did while in Italy led to his discovery and he was assigned to design the Battlefield Monument of the 361st Infantry—now at the American Military Cemetery in Florence, Italy, and to do battlefield illustrations for the regimental records.

He became Art Director with the Bureau of Publications at Arizona State University in 1964. Most of the art that embellishes this anthology was created by Mr. Toschik during his stay at Arizona State and was originally used in various numbers of the *Journal of American Indian Education*. The cover is original with the anthology.

Larry Toschik's work may be found displayed in the American Embassy in Peking, the University of Omsk in Siberia, the seminar rooms of the College of Business Administration at Arizona State, the Riveredge Foundation of Calgary, Canada, and in private homes throughout the country. In addition, his work has been reproduced in the *Arizona Highways* and *South Carolina Wildlife* magazines. Hallmark Cards, Inc. used Mr. Toschik's paintings for its sportsmen's calendar three years and 30 of the originals now hang as part of the Hallmark permanent collection.

Biographical Notes

Where possible, updated addresses of the contributors are included in the following sketches. As the early issues of the *Journal of American Indian Education* did not include such information, it has been extremely difficult to trace many of the authors. Page numbers refer to the article, and the authors are listed alphabetically according to the two parts of this volume.

Part I—EDUCATION

David Adams
(page 3)

In January, 1974, David Adams was a doctoral student at Indiana University, Bloomington, where he was writing his dissertation on the history of the federal Indian boarding school, 1879-1918. He holds an M.A. degree in American history and taught social studies at the Ridgewood High School (Illinois) for seven years. In 1972, he served as a summer volunteer at Rough Rock Demonstration School, and his experiences there in the instructional program form part of the basis for this article.

Louis C. Bernardoni
(page 9)

Portions of this article are from the author's doctoral dissertation, "Critical Factors Influencing the Stated Vocational Preference of Male White-Mountain Apache Students," Arizona State University, 1962.

Richard O. Clark
(page 19)

This article was adapted from the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Higher Education Programs for American Indians at Selected Southwestern Colleges and Universities," University of Southern California, 1972.

Evelyn Evvard
(page 24)

The author or co-author of this four-part article taught at Lukachukai, Arizona. No other information on her or co-authors George C. Mitchell or Robert R. Weaver Jr. is known.

George A. Gill
(page 40)

Presently editor of the *Journal of American Indian Education*, George A. Gill is Assistant Professor of Education in the College of Education at Arizona State University. He is also associated with the Center for Indian Education at ASU. This article was presented December 7, 1966, as one of the Center for American Studies speech series at ASU.

Charles W. Hobart
(page 46)

No information available.

Harry A. Kersey Jr.
(page 56)

Dr. Kersey is Director of the Indian Education Programs at Florida Atlantic University's College of Education, Boca Raton. At the time of writing this article, Anne Keithley and Dr. F. Ward Brunson, the co-authors, were associates in the FAU College of Education. The first report on the Title I program for the Seminoles was reported in the October, 1970, issue of the *Journal of American Indian Education.*

G. D. McGrath
(page 61)

Dr. McGrath, former dean of the College of Education at Arizona State University, is presently Director of the Center for Career Education at ASU. In 1960 the United States Office of Education sponsored a two-year research study entitled ***Higher Education of Southwestern Indians with Reference to Success and Failure*** (USOE Project 938). This article is a summary of this study. The study was directed by Dr. McGrath, and Robert Roessel, Bruce Meador, G. C. Helmstadter and John Barnes.

Thomas R. Reno
(page 72)

A graduate of Arizona State University, where he earned his B.A. and M.A. degrees in Indian Education, Thomas R. Reno was in the Peace Corps in Iran for two years. Following his tenure as deputy director of community services at the Rough Rock Navajo Demonstration School, Reno went to Flint, Michigan, as the recipient of an $8,000 Fellowship from the Mott Foundation Inter-University Clinical Preparation Program for Educational Leadership. He now is Superintendent, Apache Junction School Districts No. 43 and No. 843 in Arizona.

Robert A. Roessel Jr.
(page 77)

As one of the original co-editors of the *Journal of American Indian Education,* Dr. Roessel's contributions to the academic media are well-known. He was Professor of Education at Arizona State University, and then became instrumental in the establishment of the Rough Rock Demonstration School. Now Chancellor of the Navajo Community College, the first higher-education institution owned and operated by an American Indian tribe, Dr. Roessel can be reached at the Tsaile Lake, Arizona, campus.

Albert J. Snow
(page 88)

Albert J. Snow is a Mohawk of the Iroquois, and in 1971 was under a National Science Foundation Academic Year Institute Grant for Science Supervisors at the University of Maryland. He holds an M.A. in Chemistry and an M.S. in Science Education. At the time of writing his article on Ethno-science, he was an unpaid science consultant to the BIA in the area of evaluation and program review.

Matthew Stark
(page 93)

Dr. Stark was Assistant Professor and Coordinator of Human Relations programs in the office of the Dean of Students at the University of Minnesota, and Chairman of the University's Indian Affairs Committee at the time of this 1967 article.

Part II – CULTURE AND HISTORY

Stephen L. Bayne
(page 103)

In 1969, Stephen L. Bayne contributed two articles to the *Journal of American Indian Education*. At the time he was a doctoral student in applied anthropology at Columbia University. He was given a grant by the Carnegie Corporation to work on a study of Indian education, which was being conducted by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (at Berkeley, California), under contract to the National Indian Youth Council. Mr. Bayne's wife, Judith, a co-author of one of the articles, was co-director with him of the Baboquivari Youth Camp on the Papago Reservation during the summer of 1966.

Jerry D. Blanche
(page 108)

Jerry D. Blanche was born in Broken Bow, Oklahoma. His grandfather was a full-blood Choctaw. Mr. Blanche received his B.S. in Speech from University of Oklahoma, and his M.A. from Northern Colorado University. In 1972 (at the time this article was published), he was a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Missouri, Columbia, in the Department of Speech and Dramatic Art, was on leave of absence from Clemson University, South Carolina, where he was an Assistant Professor of Speech.

Richard C. Boutwell
(page 111)

This study was partially supported by the United States Office of Education, Grant No. OEG-8-72-0002 (509). Project Director was Richard C. Boutwell of Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Co-authors William C. Low, Kristin Williams and Thomas Proffit are from Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, site of the research on this comparison of attitudes and values between Indians and non-Indians in an institution of higher education.

Stephen Conn
(page 115)

This article is a summary of content and intent of a course prepared by Stephen Conn and three co-authors (Dan Vincenti, Leonard B. Jimson and M. J. L. Kellogg) which is being printed in a four-volume text, *The Law of the People, Dine Bibee Hazaanii: A Bicultural Approach to Legal Education for Navajo Students*. Mr. Conn is Associate Professor of Law at the University of Alaska, Institute of Social Economic and Government Research, and is presently working on a project concerning the attitude of Alaskan Indians and Eskimos toward law.

Patrick Graham
Judson Taylor
(page 122)

Patrick Graham, a graduate of Notre Dame University, taught Indian high school students in Arizona and New Mexico for six years. When the article was written, Graham was an instructor of Indian history and culture at the 1968 All-Indian Upward Bound Project held at Arizona State University. He then taught high school in Ft. Wingate, New Mexico.

Judson H. Taylor completed his undergraduate and master's degree work at the University of Oregon. He was employed as a counselor and instructor of the guidance course at the 1968 All-Indian Upward Bound Project and then served as Assistant Director of Experimental Programs, I.D. Payne Laboratory, Arizona State University, while completing work toward the Ph.D. in Educational Psychology.

Elizabeth E. Hoyt
(page 130)

Dr. Hoyt contributed several times to early issues of the *Journal of American Indian Education*. At the time, she was a Professor in the Department of Economics and Sociology at Iowa State University, Ames, and also taught at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Henry J. Keneally
(page 133)

Henry J. Keneally was Area Health Educator of the Phoenix Area Office, Division of Indian Health, U.S. Public Health Service, at the time he presented his views on tribal relations.

Francis McKinley
(page 140)

A resident of Tempe, Arizona, Mr. McKinley has been associated with several facets of Indian education since he was on the College of Education faculty at Arizona State University.

James E. Officer
(page 148)

Excerpts from the address by James E. Officer, who was Associate Commissioner of Indian Affairs, given before the Arizona Conference on Social Welfare, in May, 1963.

Lynn R. Osborn
(page 158)

Dr. Lynn R. Osborn is Professor of Speech Communication at Central Washington State College. This paper was presented originally at the 1972 Western Speech Communication Association Convention.

Kathryn Polacca
(page 164)

No information available.

John A. Price
(page 176)

Dr. John A. Price is in the Department of Anthropology at San Diego State College. This article is condensed from one published in *Human Organization*. It is based on a citywide sample survey during the spring of 1966 in cooperation with the Los Angeles Indian Center, and detailed interviews with the heads of selected households in December, 1965, and July, 1966, in cooperation with Alice Maloney of the National Council of Churches of Christ. Also utilized were topical reports by members of the University of California at Los Angeles ethnographic Summer Field School of 1966, directed by the author. Support for the analysis of data came from a University of California Faculty Research Grant.

Lee Salisbury
(pages 185 and 193)

A Professor of Speech and Theatre Arts at the University of Alaska, Dr. Lee Salisbury is contributor of two articles to this anthology. The first (page 185) was delivered as a paper at the Speech Association of America convention, December 27-30, 1964, in Chicago, Illinois. The second paper was delivered at the general session of the TESOL Conference

(Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), March 17, 1966, at the Statler Hilton Hotel, New York City. Dr. Salisbury has also been Director of the College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives and the Department of Speech, Drama and Radio at the University of Alaska.

Rennard Strickland
(page 204)

This article is adapted from a speech delivered by Professor Rennard Strickland at Randolph-Macon Women's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, March 3, 1970. Dr. Strickland, a Fellow in Legal History of the American Bar Foundation, is part Cherokee and Osage. He was one of the founders of the Indian Heritage Associates and has written more than a dozen books including *Sam Houston with the Cherokees* and *Cherokee Spirit Tales*.

Yvonne J. Weaver
(page 211)

Yvonne J. Weaver was a teacher at the Lukachukai School on the Navajo Indian Reservation at the time of this article. She also contributed to the May, 1966 issue of *Journal of American Indian Education* (see four-part series beginning on page 24).

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